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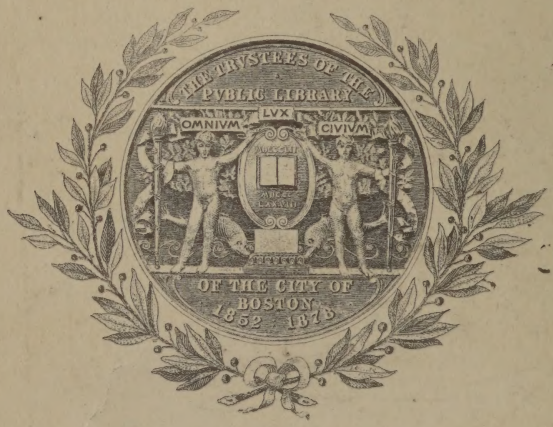
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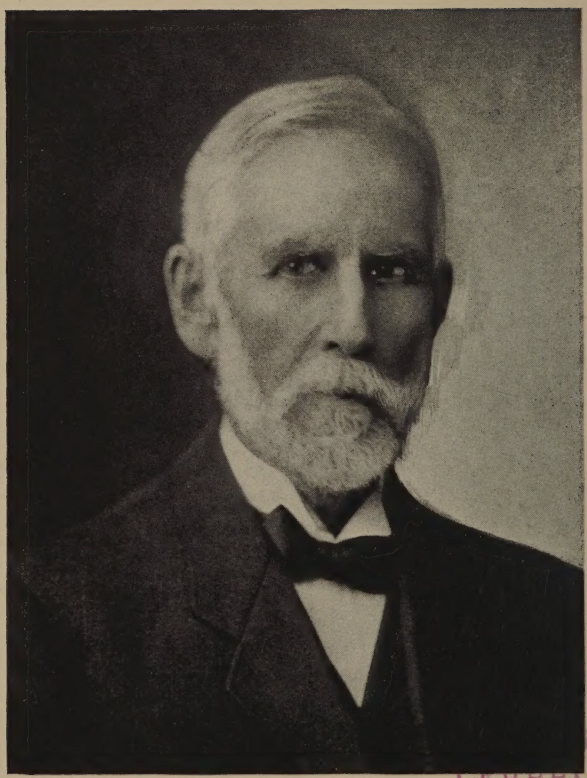

REV. JEROME D. DAVIS, D.D.

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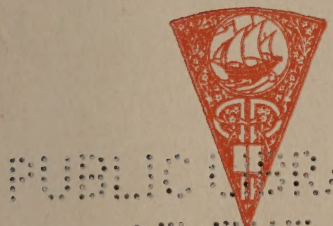
A BIOGRAPHY OF REV. JEROME D. DAVIS, D.D., LIEUT-COLONEL OF VOLUNTEERS AND FOR THIRTY-NINE YEARS A MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS IN JAPAN

BY

J. MERLE DAVIS, M.A., B.D.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS, TOKYO, JAPAN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FOREWORD

Sir Sidney Lee, in his "Principles of Biography," states that the test of the worthiness of a life for perpetuation is, "did this man render a unique service, which, had he not lived, would not have been performed?"

The test is a difficult one for a son to make for his father, and, in this case, has been left to those who knew him best as fellow-missionary, as well as to world-wide critics of missions.

Shortly after his death, Dr. Davis' closest colleagues, notably, Dr. D. L. Learned and Dr. D. C. Greene, urged that his biography should be written. Secretary James L. Barton, of the American Board, and Dr. John R. Mott, of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, reinforced this opinion with their judgment that the story of my father's life should be told, as constituting an essential link in the development of the Kingdom of God in Japan, and they have steadily encouraged me in my task.

Special acknowledgment is due to the secretaries of the American Board for placing at my disposal its library and archives with the thirty-nine years of my father's correspondence with the Board; to his comrades of the Fifty-second Illinois Vol. Inf. regiment, for their generous response in material bearing upon his military life; to his college and seminary classmates, for intimate pictures of his student life; to his missionary colleagues and Japanese friends and pupils, whose characterizations of him in varied relationships have placed me permanently in their debt; to the International Committee, for its kindness in allowing me special facilities for visiting the battle-fields of Shiloh and Corinth, and for granting the necessary time

for writing; to Drs. Learned and Cary and Professor Lombard, of Kyoto, whose intimate acquaintance with my father and his work have rendered them invaluable critics and counsellors; and, finally, to my wife, whose steady encouragement and help have been large factors in the successful completion of the work.

My father's full diary, with valuable collections of letters and manuscripts bearing upon the history of the Doshisha, the American Board Mission in Japan and the Kumi-ai (Congregational) Church, has been freely used as the backbone of the story.

I have tried to depict my father's part in the dramatic history of the early years, by letting him tell his own story of the controversies and troublous problems in which he not infrequently played a leading part. On the other hand, I have, so far as possible, presented an impartial statement of facts, irrespective of his prejudices and beliefs, which, with the added light of half a generation, reveal certain vexatious questions of relationship in a juster form.

My father's military record has been given a full treatment, because of the vital connection which this phase of his preparation had with his acceptability to the Japanese and with fitting him for meeting his most difficult tasks.

The work has been accomplished at odd moments, in the midst of constant distractions and the press of many other duties, but such difficulties as have been met with have been far outweighed by the privilege of making a detailed study of my father's life, — its sources of power, its valleys of defeat and its heights of victory.

If these pages reveal to others something of the charm of his manhood, the strength of his faith, the springs of his martial achievement and his spiritual power, so as to impel them to similar ideals of service, the highest wish of the writer will have been attained.

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THE LIFE OF JEROME DEAN DAVIS

Chapter I

THE LIFE OF JEROME DEAN DAVIS

Ancestry, Birth and Childhood

THE two families represented in the person of Jerome Dean Davis trace their origin to the early days of New England history. They migrated from England and Wales in the seventeenth century, John Woodbury settling on the north shore of Massachusetts Bay in 1623, and Isaac Davis finding his new home on the sand dunes of Cape Cod, some seventy years later.

John Woodbury, the founder of the American family of that name, left his father's estate in Somersetshire in 1623, as a member of the Dorchester Company, and arrived in the summer of the same year upon the Massachusetts coast. Three years later he entered the Massachusetts Bay Company and helped to found the town of Salem. In 1627 he was sent to England as the Envoy of the Company to negotiate the Letters Patent which secured the new enterprise to the colonists. As a member of Governor Endicott's Council, Deputy to the Colonial Court and Lord High Constable of the Colony, he enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the whole Massachusetts Bay Settlement. As official Surveyor to the Colonial Government he had charge of the laying out of Lynn, Revere and Salem, while parts of Cambridge and the campus of Harvard College were staked out by him. In recognition of his public services, the town of Salem gave him, in 1632, two hundred acres of land in the new parish of Beverly, of which he became the first settler.

John Woodbury's great-grandson, Benjamin, moved to Sutton, Massachusetts, in 1734. Here, seventy years later,

Jerome Davis' mother was born in the family of Benjamin's grandson, Captain John Woodbury, who served with distinction in the Sutton regiment through the Revolutionary War.

The Woodbury family records are full of military, naval and political leaders. A Lieutenant Woodbury was an aide to General Wolfe before Quebec. Another Woodbury, a midshipman on the U. S. S. "Constitution," lost his thumb on the wheel of that frigate while steering her into action with the British "Guerrière" in the War of 1812. A great uncle of Jerome Davis was one of the first governors of Vermont, while a cousin of his mother, Senator Levi Woodbury, served as Secretary of the Navy under President Jackson, was Secretary of the Treasury in Van Buren's cabinet, was elected Democratic Governor of New Hampshire in 1823, and later served upon the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The paternal ancestry of Jerome Davis presents an interesting contrast to the Woodburys. The courage and hardihood of sea-faring men, weather-beaten by generations of combat with Cape Cod storms, united with blood of sturdy farming stock, was the heritage of the Davis family. About the middle of the eighteenth century a tide of migration set toward the western frontier of the Massachusetts Colony, and, in 1760, Hope Davis left Cape Cod with his brother Isaac and began to clear the forests and build the first frame houses on the site of the modern town of Lee, in the Housatonic Valley.

The town records show that these brothers took a leading part in overcoming the difficulties of the raw Berkshire Hills, and in contributing to the public life of the pioneer community that grew up around them. Hope Davis was especially interested in the spiritual welfare of his town and was chairman of the committee of citizens chosen to build the first meeting-house of Lee, at a cost of seven hundred pounds.

The men of the Berkshire Hills responded eagerly to the call of the provincial New England Assembly for troops to expel the British from Boston. The Battle of Lexington was scarcely fought before the farmer battalions of the Colonies began to converge upon Massachusetts Bay. Hope Davis' second son, Nathan, Jerome Davis' grandfather, was one of the seventeen men of Lee who marched in the Berkshire regiment upon Boston. He participated in the battles of Bunker Hill, Bennington and Saratoga and fought for seven years in the Continental Army.

Jerome's father, Hope, the youngest son in a family of ten children, was born in Lee, in 1796. Six years later the farm was ruined by the bursting of the mill-dam and Nathan Davis removed to the township of Groton, in central New York, to begin life again in the midst of the wilderness. Here, industry and frugality were rewarded by well-tilled fields and a comfortable home. There were few educational advantages, but the public school had migrated with the pioneers and by steady application Jerome's father secured a common school education. When nineteen years old he began to teach and was known as the District School teacher for nearly twenty winters.

Jerome's mother, Brooksy Woodbury, whose ancestry we have traced, moved to Groton as a child with the family of her older brother, Caleb, and became the second wife of Hope Davis.

Jerome Dean Davis was the third son in a family of seven brothers and sisters. In his diary, written in mature years, he says, "Our early home was an old-fashioned, square, two-storey, brown house in East Groton. Its huge chimney in the center, its cheerful fire-places, its well-stored cellar, its classic garret, and every door and window are all indelibly impressed upon my memory. In the pleasant sitting room was a large fire-place, where a great

back log could be laid on, which would last all night, yielding a cheerful mass of glowing embers in the morning. Beside the fire-place was a brick oven where bread, beans and meat were baked. Three large rooms above and three below all had fire-places and, to crown all, there was the huge garret around the chimney, in whose weird recesses we children could play by the hour. There were three barns where we used to jump in the fragrant hay, while the homestead was surrounded by an abundance of fine sugar and fruit orchards."

The busy seasons came and went, each crowded with its characteristic and homely tasks, in which each child was able to add his small contribution toward the prosperity of the rural world of which he was a part. Though the early acceptance of a man's burdens in the struggle with the soil sobered and developed Jerome, the delights as well as the hard work of the country boy were his. He was so fond of Nature and the joys of life in the open, of plowtime and harvest, of corn-husking and "sugaring off," that the crowded events of seventy years did not dim the memories of his childhood. The sugar bush was the experience of the year to which the children looked forward with greatest delight, when for ten days the entire household camped in the maple woods, tending the buckets and boiling the sap night and day.

Jerome's education began at home, where at the age of seven he earned his first book, a New Testament, as a reward for reading it through. The following winter he trudged off through the snow to the old schoolhouse, a mile away, took his seat on the grimed and whittled benches and received his initiation into the mysteries of District School education and the deeper mysteries of human nature in the fifty scholars ranged along the hard planks about him. At recess on his first day at school the boys laid a pitfall for the green youngster, by making

spit-balls and throwing them against the ceiling. They said that the teacher would not see nor mind such harmless fun. Jerome determined to try his hand at the game, but was cut short on his first attempt by the teacher, who made him stand in deep disgrace before the whole school.

He was a studious boy, too loyal to school authority to join in the pranks of his mates, who waged ceaseless warfare on the master; too absorbed in his studies and too conscious of the brevity of the winter's freedom from farm work to spend much time in play or in loitering to or from school. At recess he was often seen with a book, sitting in a quiet spot, completely absorbed and content. In spite of his quiet habits Jerome was liked by his comrades, since he was full of fun and could enjoy a joke upon himself as well as on another. Moreover, when still a young boy he gained a reputation for courage by accepting a dare to walk at night through the old graveyard, which the country boys gave a wide berth after sunset.

In rural New York, in the 'fifties, each pair of hands was an economic asset to the home that few could sacrifice to educational ideals. The school term lasted while snow lay on the farms and no longer, so that from March until December there was little studying for Jerome and his brothers. Furthermore, the District School had its limitations, so that by his thirteenth winter Jerome had gone over the elementary courses and was hungry for something new. He says, "Just before I was fourteen years old, my father bought me an Algebra. It was a difficult one, — 'Davies-Bourdon.' Although he had taught school for nineteen consecutive winters, my father had never seen an Algebra; neither had the teacher of our District School, nor any one else within my reach. So I went to the schoolhouse every day and dug it out alone, bringing it home at night, and when husking corn or paring apples in the evening, I dug away at my Algebra. I sometimes spent

three days and three nights on a single problem, but by the middle of March I had gone through it."

Jerome was always invincible in spelling. He later attributed this to the "spelling down" system of his first school. He says, "One day I went from the middle to the head of the class on the word, 'resurrection,' and never forgot how to spell it afterward." Among the treasures saved from those early days are two faded little books, received as prizes for faithful work, entitled, "The Ill-Natured Little Boy" and "The Renowned History of Richard Whittington and His Cat." The home had a few books and one newspaper, *The Rural New Yorker*, which Jerome used to read through from cover to cover, advertisements and all. When ten years of age his father took him to the District Library of less than one hundred books kept in a little square case. The sight of such an imposing array of volumes marked an era in the boy's life, and the happiness with which he drew his first book, with the privilege of taking it home to read, staid with him through the years as one of the vivid memories of childhood. In this library he formed a life-long friendship with the characters of Scott, and through the reading of Fremont's "Journals of Exploration in the Far West" and other books of travel, his natural fondness for travel was stimulated. He often read, or tried to, like Livingstone, while at work and was chided for it. But in spite of the rigorous discipline of the household, the stern father was proud of the boy and it is clear that he furthered Jerome's progress in every way that he felt consistent with the welfare of the family and farm.

Jerome's memories of his mother are best told in his own words: — "I remember my mother as a tall, slender form, with pale face and dark hair and eyes. When about seven years old I told her a lie. She did not punish me, but took me away to the parlor, all alone, and there talked

with me and knelt down with me and asked God to forgive me and make me a good boy. This, so far as I remember, was my first and last lie.

"One scene stands out, however, more vividly than all others during those boyhood days. My mother had been in poor health for two years, but during the spring after my eighth birthday, she grew rapidly worse, and finally, brain fever terminated her life at the age of forty-one. I well remember when we all stood around her bed, just before her death, and her words to me, 'Be a good boy, Jerome.' That evening, feeling lonely, I went out to the barn where my father was milking, and he said, 'Jerome, you have no mother now. I don't know what will become of my children. I fear they will all be lost.' Then came the funeral, and the choir in the high gallery sang to the tune of 'Ganges,' the hymn,

'Lo, on a narrow neck of land
'Twixt two unbounded seas I stand,
Yet how insensible.
A moment's time, a minute's space,
Removes me to yon heavenly place,
Or shuts me up in Hell.'

At the close, my grandmother lifted me up and asked me to touch the white face and I was startled at its icy coldness."

We cannot analyze the character of Jerome Davis, without full recognition of the qualities that his mother gave him.

From his hard-working father he received the shrewd, practical judgment, the resourcefulness under new and trying conditions, the determination and iron will that had marked the Davis family for generations and made it typical of the stalwart, indomitable spirit of the American pioneer. It was the mother, however, who kindled in her

boy those spiritual qualities, which uniting with the stalwart nature of the father, created the soldier missionary of later years. From his mother came that sensitiveness to the suffering and rights of others, that unusual capacity for sympathy and quick intuition, which made him all his life a valued counsellor and friend. His mother gave him, too, the capacity for religious faith, the appreciation of the unseen realities of the spiritual world that glorified his life as a missionary. It was his mother to whom he owed the artistic side of his nature, the chivalry, ambition and broad interest in men and affairs. And, finally, it was the moral courage of the Woodbury line of military men, united to the physical hardihood of the Davis stock, that fixed in him those heroic fighting qualities which characterized him in every relationship in which he stood.

Chapter II

THE FORGING OF THE BLADE

THE years following the mother's death were heavy years in the Davis home. The father's third marriage was not a success and the family was gradually involved in debt. This period of unhappy home conditions and family trouble supplied the influences that led to Jerome's conversion. He was not yet fourteen, but his environment was rapidly maturing him. "Until I was thirteen I had no very serious religious impressions. After my mother's death I gave up the habit of prayer. That fall everything looked dark and the difficulties in our home reached a climax. My mind was filled with gloomy thoughts and I was impressed with the fact that I could find happiness only in Christ. I seemed to hear an inner voice saying, 'Unless you become a Christian now, you never will.' But I resisted again and again and each time the conviction returned, sometimes so vividly that I could not sleep. At length, in November, our father took the little sister away to live with an aunt and was absent three days. It was one of those cold, rainy days that I was alone in the barn, husking corn, when these convictions came to me with astonishing power; again I resisted and again and again they returned, each time stronger than before, until I felt that unless I yielded then I should be forever lost. At last with a force of will the strongest that I had ever put forth, I compelled myself to kneel down and ask God to forgive me and Christ to save me. This brought relief. Up to this time I had not said a word to any one about my feelings, and no one had spoken to me for years about being a Christian. When my father

returned I told him and he was quite overcome with emotion.

"The next Thursday at the church prayer meeting, I timidly stood up and told my determination and asked their prayers, but I did not find a settled joy at once. I expected a great and instantaneous change, which did not come. Then, too, I sometimes yielded to my quick temper, when everything would turn dark and I would fear that I was not a Christian and after much discouragement I would go to Christ again and find peace and pardon. Finally, I decided that I would do my duty as a Christian, anyway, saved or unsaved, and leave the result with God, and then I began to find a settled peace."

These months of religious struggle were the determining experience of his life. In giving himself to God he loyally yielded his whole life. If he were God's child, then he must work for Him; the relationship was as clear and the obligation as binding as in the case of his earthly parent. Every fibre of his intense and conscientious nature responded to the demands of this new relationship, to which he began to adjust himself, and the aim of his life, "How can I make my life count for the most for God and for men," was born. These words reveal the dynamic power that impelled his life for fifty-nine years, and to which, more than all other influences, may be attributed his success.

Before uniting with the Groton Church, Jerome visited the pastor, Rev. S. T. Kidder, who talked and prayed with him regarding the step he proposed to take. One February afternoon, as the spring twilight was deepening on Groton Church Hill, a knock came at the door of the room where the deacons were met with the pastor to discuss candidates for baptism. The door was pushed open and for a moment, an awkward, homespun clad figure stood outlined against the western sky. With cap held in fingers that trembled, Jerome stated that he was a candidate for admission to the Church.

At that time child members were rare and it was a question whether the admission of a boy scarcely in his "teens" should be permitted. However, he had reasoned out his position and his clear answers to their questionings convinced the deacons of the genuineness and grasp of the boy's belief.

"I shall never forget that Spring Sabbath, six months after my decision, when I went up alone in the middle aisle of the church, with a row of boys in the gallery looking down at me, as I publicly assented to the creed and entered into covenant with the Church." With the row of boys in the gallery he now found less and less in common; the family troubles, his natural taste for study and his rather extraordinary step of church membership tended to isolate him from the lads who overran the countryside with their pranks. However, Jerome had the capacity for making and keeping friends, and as opportunities for play offered themselves he entered heartily into them; but more than is the case with the average boy, he was able to hold himself steadily to hard mental and physical tasks, with eyes fixed upon his chosen goal of efficiency and service. This enabled him to endure drudgery while other boys were playing and loafing.

He inherited a sensitive, affectionate nature from his mother, and after her death was led to hide his emotions and to develop a stoicism of face and demeanor that concealed the currents of feeling that often surged in his heart. These years of conflict with environment are responsible for the habit of repression, expressed in set jaw and reserve of manner which clung to him and against which he struggled in later years.

In the winter of 1853, matters in the home reached a climax where a separation became inevitable. Hope Davis sold his farm and turned toward the western frontier, as his forefathers had three times done before him, to

begin life under more favorable conditions in northern Illinois.

Upon the close of the Blackhawk Indian War, the Fox River Valley had been settled by groups of New England pioneers, and to one of these new communities in the northeastern corner of the state, the family made its way. The journey from central New York to northern Illinois occupied four days and nights and was Jerome's first glimpse of a steam railroad or of the outside world. Of it he recorded, " Chicago is a city of 50,000 people and is undergoing the state of being lifted out of the mud. The sidewalks are constantly going up and down stairs, as some buildings are not yet lifted at all and others have been raised ten feet."

Dundee, a village of six hundred inhabitants, was typical of the new settlements of the Middle West. A neighborliness, amounting almost to intimacy, pervaded the community. Many of the settlers had been friends in the East before migrating, while the hardships of the pioneer, the stimulus of overcoming the difficulties of a new country and the joy of helping to lay the foundations of a commonwealth, shared in alike by every household, tended to create an atmosphere charged with patriotism, energy and intellectual and physical incentive. The spirit of alertness, of achievement and of perseverance was in the air, and sluggish must have been the blood of him who failed to respond.

Under such stimulating conditions it did not take the newcomers long to feel at home. They soon fitted into an honest share of the life of the town; the father cultivated his farm: the sons worked at the carpentry trade and taught school. The first memory of an old resident of Dundee of Jerome Davis was seeing him build a barn behind his father's house. He was handy with tools, with a knack for construction, and as carpenter, mason's appren-

tice and bricklayer he found plenty to do. When the farm work was heavy he worked in the hay-field or walked behind the plow, and for years, in the absence of a housekeeper, he did his share of the plain cooking and washing for the family. He stood loyally beside his father, to whom he gave all his earnings until the farm was paid for.

There was a small Congregational Church in Dundee, with which the family united. Jerome was the only young man in the Church, and for years father and son were alone among the men of the community in their attendance at the weekly prayer-meeting.

A picture of the motherless family is left by one who was associated with him in later years: "Every Sabbath I saw a short, dark, somber looking man preceding his children into the church. He always sat at the end of the pew. They were very grave people. He was a deacon in the little church. His prayers were precise and dreary. Augusta was a fair, timid girl who was neatly and carefully dressed. Jerome had the air of a humble, timid, earnest boy, who at every opportunity offered would rise to testify for Christ — hesitant in speech, but so deep, tender, reverent, that all loved, admired and honored him.

When sixteen years old he was chosen Church Clerk, and in that capacity had to take part in the trial of the minister for attempting to spread Unitarian doctrines in the parish. Thus early in his career was Jerome Davis placed on the defensive in matters of faith: a forecast of that wider arena in which he was to stand in defence of the fundamentals of his belief.

About this time, Jerome's aunt, Mrs. Wilder, or "Aunt Mercy," as she was known to the family, nursed him through a serious attack of pneumonia, saved his life and laid the basis of a life-long affection between them. A council of physicians had given him up after a struggle of many weeks. Mrs. Wilder, undaunted at the situation,

took command, steeped a quantity of smart-weed, packed the patient in the pungent mess and in a few hours had him conscious and on the road to recovery.

As in New York, so in Illinois, the winters brought an opportunity for study in the village school, which provided better facilities than those he had yet enjoyed. A classmate writes, "I remember him as a good boy in school and always studious. He later attained the dignity of the back seat, the place reserved for the older boys and girls. We noticed his methodical ways. He was rather tall and slightly built, with a somewhat serious face and reserve of manner that did not invite careless advances, but there was a merry twinkle in his eye and a brisk manner of speech and action that won him friends. He was a trifle shy and ill at ease with ladies and certainly did not star at the local parties. Determination, reliability and worth were written all over him."

The winter session of the village school was a poor substitute for the college preparation which he craved. If he was to carry out his great aim of efficient service he must have a college training, but loyalty to his father and the family required that he place his time and earnings at their disposal.

The dilemma seemed incapable of solution if he were to be true to both calls of duty. He faced the situation squarely and while continuing to give his wages to his father, prepared himself for college by the slow process of winter and evening study. "Many a time did I shed tears as I saw other young men able to go to Elgin Academy, while I had to work. When I was seventeen I bought a copy of Virgil with a Latin Grammar, Reader and Lexicon, and that winter recited once a week to the lady who taught our village school. This was the only help that I had in Latin before entering college. The next fall I bought some Greek books and began that study, but

never had the privilege of asking any one a question in Greek until I entered college. That same autumn I passed an examination to teach a District School during the following winter.

"I had never been away from home and was lonely. I boarded around. The family which sent the largest number of children to the school had a steady fare of saleratus biscuit, fried pork and potatoes, boiled with the skins on, which I ate three times a day for five weeks. I dug away at my Latin and Greek, mornings and evenings and during the noon hour, when able, and walked home to Dundee every Friday evening.

"I opened school each morning with a brief Bible reading and prayer. Two weeks before the end of the term some of the big boys, several of whom were older than I, covered the walls of the school room with caricatures of the pious stripling who was trying to teach them. It was hard to bear, but the term was so nearly ended that I pocketed my feelings and finished without a collision."

One who was later a comrade with him under Sherman, on the "March to the Sea," wrote shortly before Dr. Davis' death: "Col. Davis. That name carries me back to the little school in Barrington: I a school boy; you the teacher. Those were the happiest days of my life, without a care or sorrow and all the pranks that boys delight in. I well remember the thrashing you gave me for jumping on the hay in Bucklin's barn when you had forbidden it. That was the only one you ever gave me. The scene shifts: I a private and you the Colonel of my regiment. I was sick in the field hospital before Atlanta. You came to see me. I was not only sick in body, but would have given worlds to go home. You cheered me right away by your kindness and I was better."

The next winter Jerome had a school in a more desirable neighborhood, and later, when twenty years old, he be-

came the master of the Carpentersville School, a mile from Dundee, where he taught for one year.

These four years of school teaching played a happy part in his development. They kept him in contact with educational ideals, gave opportunities for pursuing his classical education, provided an income with which he could aid his father, and developed the love of teaching which characterized his later educational work. The mixing with various conditions and classes of people and the dealing with human nature in varied relationships supplied a hitherto missing element in his training.

There came to the reticent youth during this period a knowledge of men and their limitations and a degree of self-control that later, under different and trying circumstances, were crystallized into leadership.

Chapter III

BELOIT COLLEGE

MORE than with most men, his twenty-first birthday marked a new era in the life of Jerome Davis. Up to this time his earnings had been given to his father, who had now paid for the farm and was in more comfortable circumstances. Hereafter his time and money were his own. He continued to teach until summer and in September, 1858, with sixty dollars and a set of college text-books as his only possession, he entered the freshman class of Lawrence University at Appleton, Wisconsin.

His first choice had been Beloit College, then the leading institution in the Northwest, but the offer of a scholarship from a relative at Lawrence University decided him in favor of the newer school.

The two terms he spent at Appleton did not satisfy him. The college was very young, not yet fully organized and indifferently manned. At the end of the winter term, in 1859, he left Lawrence University and went to Beloit.

Beloit College had been founded twelve years before by a group of New England educators, who had with unusual success transferred New England scholarship and culture to southern Wisconsin. The school had already attracted to its faculty that coterie of brilliant scholars and noble personalities which has been responsible in such large measure for its high educational standards and large output of efficient graduates. President Chapin and Professors Blaisdell, Emerson and Porter were teachers who were not satisfied to merely interpret the classics and sciences to their pupils, but whose kindling personalities remade men

and interpreted life to them upon a grander scale than they had yet dreamed.

The warm greeting given him by President Chapin, on arriving in Beloit, and the kindly offices extended to him by president and teachers, won Jerome's heart and knit him at the outset to the life of the college. He found the Beloit requirements higher than those at Lawrence and this, with the difficulty of changing courses in mid-year, necessitated the period of adjustment. However, he caught up with his class the following autumn and struck a pace that brought him rapidly to the front. A classmate says of him, "He was 'facile princeps' in his class work. He seemed to have just a little more in him than the rest of us to make excellent work, though I think he never did it for that reason. But he would work things out, and, as they say, 'then some.'" Professor William Porter refers to this same trait, "He was not a brilliant student, but had the capacity for intense application combined with great thoroughness. He was extremely conscientious, almost painfully so, but a student upon whom you could absolutely depend to do genuine work. His loyalty to the faculty has never been excelled in Beloit." He had a natural aptitude for mathematics and the time saved in preparing these lessons he put upon the classics, in which he had had inadequate preparation, and upon which he concentrated all of his energy.

He received some aid from the Education Society, but had to rely upon himself for most of his support. "I sawed wood, worked in gardens at ten cents an hour and took care of a horse. During the winter I cared for four recitation rooms, sweeping and dusting them and carrying the coal up and the ashes down two flights of stairs and building the fires. To do this I had to get up every morning at four o'clock and work until breakfast time." The first college exercise, chapel prayers, called the students

together at six o'clock, after which, while it was still dark, "we Sophomores used to make our way across the unlighted, snow-covered campus to hear Professor Emerson interpret Herodotus by the light of a lamp." There was no hardship in this program to a boy who had for years been longing for such opportunities, and he records of these days that they were among the happiest of his life.

During the spring of his sophomore year he taught two hours a day in the preparatory department and in this way relieved the strain of physical labor that had hitherto absorbed considerable time and strength.

The religious spirit at Beloit was deep and manifest in many ways in the student life as well as in the regulations of the school. Jerome entered enthusiastically into the Missionary Society and the activities of the Christian Union, the forerunner of the Young Men's Christian Association, and was usually at the class or college prayer-meetings. Chapel prayers were held twice a day and each student was required to be present, while attendance at church and at the Sabbath afternoon chapel service was also expected of all the men.

In the Sabbath afternoon talks President Chapin spoke from his heart and opened new worlds of thought and experience to his students. Forty years later Dr. Davis wrote, "President Chapin's presence was a benediction to me. I remember his Sabbath afternoon sermons in the chapel, on the life of Christ, as if they were of yesterday. The longer I live, the more I am impressed with the fact that men are like composite photographs, largely made by the men who influence them during the formative period of their lives. I am conscious that President Chapin and Professors Emerson, Porter and Blaisdell have moulded my life more than all other human influences combined, and among these men I owe a large debt of gratitude to President Chapin."

His oldest brother's conversion, for which he had long waited, seemed to him a direct answer to prayer. In the letter he now wrote to his father we get the first glimpse of his heart: "It must have been joyful news to you to hear that Isaac, like the long-lost prodigal, had returned to his Father's house and was there seeking the bread of eternal life. As I read the news my eyes were wet with tears and my heart went up in gratitude to my heavenly Father who ordereth all things well. It has strengthened and encouraged me."

It was during this year that the question of life work was decided. "For years the conviction had come repeatedly that I ought to preach the Gospel, but I did not believe that I was worthy and I did not want to do it. I fought against it, but found no rest until I decided to go ahead and get such an education as would fit me to preach the Gospel, leaving it to the future to decide just what I should do. I had made this decision some two years before entering college." His first year at Beloit with the new vistas of life and service that the stimulating environment disclosed to him gave a final answer to this question which was never opened again.

During his second winter at college a class revolution occurred which was a severe test of moral fibre. It was the custom each year for the sophomores to ride across the country, twenty miles, to spend an evening with the senior class of the Ladies' Seminary at Rockford, Illinois. The usual preparations had been made and the sleighs and dinner ordered, when the principal of the Rockford school requested of President Chapin that, owing to a special religious interest among the students, the party be postponed. The Beloit faculty informed the sophomores that they could not go to Rockford. At chapel prayers, the day before the proposed party, President Chapin made a clear statement, explaining the situation and asking for the

cooperation of the class with the faculty. After chapel an indignation meeting was held. " The boys were all excited and inflammatory speeches were made. At last, all the class, except myself, had pledged themselves to go, if all would go. The whole class tried for two hours to make me go. They pleaded, they argued and some denounced me as a coward and a traitor to the class. I saw the injustice of giving the refusal so late, but I had signed a matriculation pledge in which I had promised to obey the rules of the college. I felt that I could honorably go only by severing my connection with the college, and this would probably defeat my plans for an education and for my life work. I could not do it. I endured the pressure until midnight and then went home and went to bed. The next day, because I did not go, three others remained, but all the rest of the class went to Rockford. On their return the faculty took strong measures and suspended them all for six weeks."

The students of Beloit were soon to face far more momentous questions than those presented by college activities. With the opening of the year 1861, both North and South could no longer avoid the conclusion that the issues for which they stood were irreconcilable, that compromise was an impossibility and that the principles which either side interpreted as guaranteed them in the Constitution could only be established by the arbitrament of war. Beloit College felt the thrill of the impending conflict. The right of secession, the necessity for coercion, the attitude of Seward upon compromise and the conditions of the coming struggle were discussed in every meeting, at every table and on each occasion where the men came together. The campus was transformed into a drill field and the Manual of Arms was included in the daily schedule of a majority of the students.

A company was organized in the college, which Jerome

Davis joined. Here another test of mettle came, which in the light of his later record is interesting. "After a few weeks of drill the man who had trained us and wanted to be captain made a long speech, while we stood in line, concluding with the request that all who would enlist and enter the army should take three steps to the front. I think I was the only one who remained standing still. Again I received the taunts of my fellows, but I did not feel that the emergency was then great enough to sacrifice preparation for life work and, perhaps, life itself."

Upon the first call of President Lincoln for 75,000 men, Jerome's older brother, John, who was in business in Minnesota, enlisted in the First Minnesota Vol. Inf. Regiment, and in May passed within twelve miles of Beloit on his way to the front.

Jerome was unaware of this at the time and did not see him again before his death at Gettysburg, two years later. He wrote to his brother, April 18th: "It is hard just now to withdraw my mind from the South and the battles that will soon be raging there, and I am ready, if there is any lack of help, to go down and fight. There is evidently a fearful struggle in store for us, but I hope that it will be the death of slavery."

On the margin of a letter to his father written a few days later, he says: "I am well and about three times as busy as the average student, having a class to hear in geometry, one in algebra and another in geography, every day, besides other work; an hour drilling with the company, one and a half hours preparing for biennial examinations and, finally, my regular studies. Two companies have left town, in one of which were twelve students. The most I fear for my country is that some base compromise will be agreed to by the North. I had rather see peaceable Secession with all its difficulties, or the coercion of arms, with all its horrors, than that we should yield another inch to the soul-thirsty traitors."

The college year drew toward Commencement, and though, as yet, the war had made few gaps among the students, the echo of arms was already in the air, a heavy cloud of suspense hung over the college, and as the students bade each other "Good-bye," none knew what September might hold for him or for the nation.

Chapter IV

THE LONG ROLL

THE summer vacation was still young when the decisive defeat of the Union Army in its first battle at Bull Run awoke the North to the appalling conflict which it was facing. Jerome Davis was traveling in southern Wisconsin and read in the morning paper of President Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand volunteers and Governor Yate's statement that every man in Illinois who would enlist was needed. "I felt that that call took me." A vivid letter from his brother describing his experience at Bull Run, where his regiment had covered the Union retreat by defending the batteries of Ricketts and Griffin against the sledge-hammer assaults of Stonewall Jackson's Brigade, still further deepened his conviction. The last doubt vanished; his country needed men; needed him, and he turned his back upon his loved Beloit with a clear conscience. He went home to Dundee, found that nearly one hundred men had already enlisted in a company there, and put his name down to serve for three years or for the war.

It was a serious motive that had impelled him to enter the army and serious he seemed to the men of his company. A comrade says of him, "I had never met him until the day of our enlistment, in the early part of September, 1861, when we drove in wagons from Dundee to Geneva, where the regiment was organized. We were riding in the same wagon, and I have never forgotten the impression he created in my mind that day; he was so entirely different from the rollicking young boys, as most of them were, yet so very forbearing of their pranks."

The new recruits were quartered in the County Fair buildings at Geneva, where the initial experiences of military life were burned into Jerome's memory. "I shall never forget that first night. Here were two hundred young men in one room. Among them were a few very wicked men who made night hideous with ribald songs and obscene stories." It was a relief when the Sibley tents arrived and the troops were broken up into groups of six and eight men. His reaction upon his environment, his first close contact with gross wickedness, was decided. He wasted no time in reflecting upon the disagreeable situation, and since he could not withdraw from the moral corruption of the camp he attempted to clean it up.

A few entries in his diary show what he was doing when not drilling with the company, "Mon., Sept. 30th. Distributed thirty Testaments; more wanted. Tues. Oct. 1. Purchased fifteen more Testaments, and distributed them; Wed. Oct. 2d. Procured ten more Testaments; had enough. Thurs., Oct. 3rd. Circulated a pledge against using intoxicating liquor and obtained the signatures of almost all of Company I that were here. Sunday, Oct. 6th. Walked to St. Charles to church in the morning. In the afternoon heard Mr. Barbour preach on the grounds. In the evening attended Bible class and when looking around in the tents for all that would attend, I found an illiterate Irishman, alone, reading slowly aloud from one of the Testaments I had distributed. I felt richly repaid for all they had cost me."

"Mon. Oct. 7th. Found a liquor bottle behind a post, which I hung, with the label, 'Death to the Bottle.'" Such radical temperance methods could not pass unchallenged, for the next entry records, — "Came near getting smashed at table and it is evident there will have to be a change in the method of procedure." Whether the, 'smashing' referred to the bottle or the reformer is not

known, but he had learned a lesson, and no more labelled whisky bottles were hung in the camp.

"Oct. 13th. Sunday. This afternoon we turned out to escort St. Charles Cavalry to the depot, as they started for the front. It brought the tears to my eyes to see women, with little ones clinging to them and sobbing, kiss the sun-burnt cheeks of their husbands, who choked down their feelings. Tues. Oct. 15th. Had a fine prayer-meeting this evening in which Capt. Brown took part. Wed. Oct. 16th. A squad of twenty men left camp this morning because they could not get offices to suit them. Sat. Oct. 19th. We had dress parade at four-thirty and our company carried our regimental flag for the first time and when we had done, we gave three cheers for this banner under whose folds we have got to march and fight, and, probably, some of us to die. In the evening, attended Lyceum and had a spirited time. After tattoo I had a bath in the brook, unaccompanied, save by the full moon overhead and the white frost underfoot and the voice of a sentinel who said I would surely, 'catch my death,' but I took a 'double-quick' around the race-course of the Fair ground and warmed up, slept well and came out safe."

"Camp Lyon, Geneva, Oct. 18th, 1861. Dear Sister:— We are faring very well and all the boys are rapidly gaining flesh. We have singing, dancing, boxing, ball-playing, lyceums and prayer-meetings for our amusements. . . . We are Company I, the color company of the regiment, and in line of battle will be on the right center, the place where the fiercest attacks will be made. . . . We will soon have our uniforms and expect to move in two weeks to Missouri. Affectionately yours, Jerome."

The weeks at Camp Lyon gave ample opportunity for the men of the regiment to become acquainted. Company I was a fine body of men. Captain Joseph Brown was a Christian man. First Sergeant Samuel Anderson

had no superior in the company in character or ability. He had left Chicago Theological Seminary to enlist in the regiment and soon found a devoted friend in Jerome Davis. There were nine Christians in the company. Most of the men of Company I kept the pledge of temperance which they signed at Geneva. A weekly prayer-meeting and, much of the time, a Bible class, was kept up for the regiment through the four years of the war. For its high average of character and the activity of its leading members in the religious interests of the regiment, Company I was called the "Moral Company."

After six weeks in the Geneva barracks, the Fifty-second Illinois was transferred to Missouri and crossed from St. Louis to St. Joseph on the 8th of December. It was a rough experience in cattle trains, through hostile country. The diary sketches a vivid panorama of soldiering in the South. It shows the men struggling through roads six inches deep with mud; and again standing all night under arms on the bank of the Missouri River, waiting to be ferried across; the loading of the men into stock cars just emptied of Kansas hogs; the whiling away of the long night hours by the dancing and singing of negro slaves; the raw, smoked pork for rations and the water supply for the thirsty men, the mud-holes along the railway track. "This is the road where so much of the bridge work and rolling stock has been destroyed and it is one of the roughest in the country. We rode 150 miles behind an engine that was dented with bullets, going many a mile in a little over a minute, jerking, swaying and jumping along, bruising our heads and sides, standing with difficulty, braced and packed though we were. We went through safely, but I feel that I have been in more danger than in an ordinary battle."

In St. Joseph the men were preparing for a merry Christmas with the boxes of good things sent from home, when

on Christmas eve, the Fifty-second was ordered back forty miles, to guard the bridge at Grindstone Creek. The snow was a foot deep; the thermometer stood at five above zero. The Quartermaster took three days to make connections with his supplies, and the regiment had a Christmas dinner of corn roasted on the cob. "My chum and I cut down small trees, laid up a log house three feet high, put our small wedge tent on top, and, with a fireplace on one side, we were quite comfortable."

He was not given to practical joking, but the New Year came in with an uproar in camp that some of his comrades still place at Jerome Davis' door. "New Year's Eve, I was Corporal of the Guard. Orders were, that any sentinel who saw men approaching should fire, and if a gun was fired, the camp should be put under arms. I had changed the guard at eleven o'clock and we were sitting around an open fire, roasting beef on our ramrods. It was nearly midnight, and I sat with my watch in hand, ready to wish my comrades a 'Happy New Year.' The last minute came and just as I was about to speak the words, 'Bang,' went a gun. I jumped up yelling, 'Turn out, turn out, a gun is fired!' The sentinel who had fired cried out, 'Don't disturb them, it's nothing but a wolf,' and, simultaneously, a dog came yelping in on three legs. By this time, the camp was aroused, some out of their tents, others looking out, when taking in the situation, I wished them all a, 'Happy New Year.' The captain found a private trying to get into one end of his pantaloons while he got into the other, and he declared he would never take them off again while in the vicinity of the enemy. The camp thought we had put up the whole thing to fool them."

With the opening of 1862, General H. W. Halleck began concentrating all his available forces for an advance upon the Confederate line of defence in Kentucky. The Fifty-

second Illinois was ordered to Smithland, Ky. On reaching St. Joseph, Corporal Davis was ill with chills and fever and was sent to the Army Hospital. "The doctor felt my pulse and prescribed Dover's Powders; the next day I was worse, but was given more Dover's Powders. I had some Quinine in my knapsack and began taking regular doses and, in three days, subdued the fever. . . . There were six of us in the same ward, all getting well from different diseases, but the prescription was the same for all, — two pills from a common box, once in two hours. Each time, I threw mine into the fire. Finally, I went out and bought some apples and in a week felt ready to join my regiment. The surgeon refused to let me go, and so to prove my strength, I walked across the frozen Missouri River into Kansas and back. I had longed to touch the sacred soil of Kansas, ever since my blood was stirred, in 1854, with its struggles for freedom."

Two days later he was put in charge of a squad of fifteen convalescents belonging to his regiment, whom he took to St. Louis and thence to Cairo by steamer. Here he met the new commander of the Fifty-second Illinois. Colonel Thomas W. Sweeny had served with a brilliant record through the Mexican War, losing his right arm at the battle of Churubusco, and had recently come from active service in the regular army in the Far West. Jerome Davis had occasion to remember his first encounter with Colonel Sweeny. On the journey to Smithland, his squad was without rations, and he went directly to the erect, one-armed officer upon the upper deck, introduced himself and made known his errand. Colonel Sweeny turned his flashing eyes upon the subaltern, with the sharp command, — "Corporal, come to attention, sir!" Startled by the fierce reprimand of his superior officer, and utterly confused, he assumed the position of "parade rest." Again, the ringing voice, — "Don't you know what *attention* is?

Come to ATTENTION, sir! ! ! Now get your orders from the sergeant here." The rations were secured and the lesson in military discipline was never forgotten.

From the moment that the new colonel took command of the Fifty-second, efficiency and discipline were born in the volunteer regiment. It was put under the strictest military training, and as a result became one of the best units in the division. On February 14th, orders came to proceed up the Cumberland River to reinforce General U. S. Grant who was investing Fort Donaldson. The regiment reached Fort Donaldson just twelve hours after its surrender, but in time to witness the evacuation of the garrison. It was next detailed to guard six steamer loads of Confederate prisoners to St. Louis and Chicago.

Company I, with seventy men, was put in charge of 1,800 prisoners on the S. S. "Alec Scott." "As we steamed down the narrow Cumberland River, night and day, I could not but wonder whether seventy Confederates could safely guard a load of 1,800 Yankees down the Hudson River, in their own country." Colonel Sweeny was on board the, "Alec Scott," with his Color Company. As long as they were within sight of southern soil, there was no rest, day or night, for the seventy federal guards, but when Cairo and the broad Mississippi came in sight, the watch was somewhat relaxed. "As we left Cairo the third night, everybody was so tired out that the Officer of the Day turned the command over to the Officer of the Guard and went to bed. As soon as he was out of sight, the Officer of the Guard turned everything over to me and also went to bed. I made the rounds and managed the guards all night!

"While on guard duty in the Chicago barracks, now filled with Confederates, I was amazed, one Sunday morning, to find a prayer-meeting, — 'rebels,' praying and singing with fervor. The sight gave me a new

idea of the character of the men I was soon to meet in battle." [1]

The scene shifts again from the northern prison to the muddy current of the Tennessee River, where on the 17th of March, the regiment joined the divisions of Halleck's army on the steamers which bore them to rendezvous under Grant at Fort Henry. "The evening we lay at Fort Henry will never be forgotten. The warm, balmy air, the moonlight on the water and the strains of music from the bands of twenty regiments, all playing, at once, the most stirring, patriotic strains from the decks of as many steamers, seemed a dream out of fairy-land." That swelling martial music, with snare-drum accompaniment, was next heard by the Fifty-second just three weeks later, when it awakened to the "long roll" and the "rebel yell" at Shiloh.

[1] This incident well illustrates the lack of understanding and appreciation of each other prevailing at that time between the men of the North and the South.

Chapter V

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

THE surrender and evacuation of Fort Donaldson, which with Fort Henry had formed the center of the second line of Confederate defence in the West, effectually pierced that line and forced the Southern armies to fall back to a third defensive position, extending from Memphis on the Mississippi River, along the route of the Memphis and Charlestown Railroad, to its intersection at Corinth, Mississippi, with the Mobile and Ohio. From this point it followed the Tennessee River eastward as far at Chattanooga. Driven back into the very center of the South the Confederate forces began to concentrate along this third defensive line. The navigable Tennessee River offered a highway for five hundred miles into the heart of the Confederacy, while the junction of Corinth, the gateway to the Gulf States, now became the prize toward which General Halleck set his armies in motion. During the early spring of 1862, minor operations of both armies were put aside and preparations were begun for a struggle to possess this strategic point, so vital to the Confederacy.

The month of March witnessed a steady procession of transports plying up the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, where the northern divisions began to disembark and go into camp preparatory to the assault upon the neighboring railroad junction. By the 20th of March, General Grant had assembled five divisions of Federal troops at Pittsburg Landing, with a sixth under General Lew Wallace at Crump's Landing, six miles down the river, aggregating some thirty-eight thousand men. General Buell, with thirty-seven thousand men, comprising the Army

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I. SHILOH CHURCH. GENERAL SHERMAN'S HEADQUARTERS

II. TENNESSEE RIVER. WHERE GENERAL GRANT LANDED HIS FORCES

of the Ohio, was marching from Nashville, one hundred and thirty miles away, over the heavy roads of central Tennessee.

On the 24th, the Confederate General, A. Sidney Johnston, effected a junction of his twenty thousand men with the commands of Beauregard, Polk, Cheatam and Bragg, so that by April first, some fifty thousand Confederate troops had poured into Corinth and were being organized into a powerful army under the master hand of Johnston. Johnston's plan was to crush Grant at the river, before Buell could arrive, and then in turn destroy the Army of the Ohio. With this in view, he pushed forward during the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of April, through the fearful mud of the road leading to Pittsburg Landing.

The position of the Union Army was favorable for defense. It lay encamped on the cleared plateaus between the woods and ravines of an area measuring some four by five miles in extent. With the deep river at its back, it was protected on either flank by the bayous of Snake and Lick Creeks, whose tributary streams,, flowing in opposite directions, narrowed the only available point of attack to a line about two miles long, to the south and front of the Northern army. The region was partly cleared, open fields alternating with dense masses of woods and underbrush and cut up by ravines now partially flooded by heavy rains. About the center of the quadrilaterals described, stood the Shiloh meeting-house, at the junction of the road from Corinth to the landing, with the road running to Purdy on the west. Here, two miles from the river, were General Sherman's headquarters, while the commands of McClernand and Prentiss stretched off irregularly to the southeast. Between this advanced line and the river and a mile in the rear, lay the divisions of W. H. L. Wallace and Hurlbut, while commissary trains, artillery vans and quartermaster's stores were massed along the river bluff and under its banks.

Upon arrival at Pittsburg Landing, the Fifty-second Illinois was assigned to the Third Brigade of the Second Division of the Army of the Tennessee, under the command of Brigadier General W. H. L. Wallace. It went into camp on the edge of a large field, bordering the Savannah road that here ran parallel to the river, and about three-quarters of a mile from it. Only two of the five divisions in camp had ever been in battle. Nearly all of the men were raw and undisciplined, many of them having received their first rifles but a few days before. General Grant, who had his headquarters eight miles down the river at Savannah, spent the larger part of each day at Pittsburg Landing, supervising the disposition of troops and stores and perfecting the organization of the army. No breast-works or entrenchments were constructed, since the advance upon Corinth was to begin in a few days and Grant considered it more important to concentrate every energy upon drilling.

By Saturday evening, April 5th, the head of the Confederate column had reached a point only two miles from Sherman's pickets, and deploying through the woods to right and left, the Southern regiments prepared to bivouac for the night. A determined spirit pervaded the whole of Johnston's army as they faced what must be to them the life and death struggle of the dawn.

Before resting that night, General Johnston visited each brigade and division commander with personal words of encouragement and confidence in the issue of the morrow. As he mounted his great war horse "Fire-eater," he exclaimed to his staff: — "Gentlemen, we will water our horses in the Tennessee River tomorrow night." What wonder that with such confidence and magnetic leadership, Johnston's army fought with a spirit that nearly made good the boast of its idolized chief. The sickle moon and mild spring stars looked down that same night upon thirty-

three thousand Federal soldiers sleeping securely in their camps but two miles away, with their commander eight miles distant at Savannah. Nor did commander more than his men dream of the tense engine of destruction which awaited the gray dawn to be launched at them with surpassing fury.

Sunday, the 6th of April, 1862, dawned with a cloudless sky. The air was soft and full of the odor of blossoming dogwood, jessamine and violets in the budding woods. The catbirds and robins were already busy with their nests when the sun rose over the bluff of the Tennessee River with a splendor augmented by the rain of the preceding day. Company I, Fifty-second Illinois, was up and busy with various duties. Some of the boys were at the spring, washing out an extra shirt; George Peck, Milo Sherman and a half dozen men were down at the river enjoying a morning dip; others were busy getting breakfast and the scent of strong coffee and fried bacon permeated the camp. With his back against a tree and knapsack for a desk, a private sat, writing a letter home, while another lay on the ground near by reading from a New Testament. A Sabbath quiet and peace seemed to brood over the whole scene.

Suddenly, the earth beneath the white Sibley tents trembled, and there came the boom of heavy cannon. "Sherman must be practicing that new battery of his," remarked a corporal at the fire, frying bacon on a bayonet. Boom! Boom! came the deep-toned answer out of the south forest, followed by the unmistakable staccato of musketry. The men stopped short where they were and looked at one another. The Testament closed with a snap, the bacon burned and curled to a cinder where it fell, the banter of the camp ceased and for the space of ten seconds the men heard their watches ticking in their blouses, while faint, but clear-cut on the still air came the "Yi! Yi!" of the

first great Confederate rush that was sweeping Prentiss back through his camp.

Captain Brown came out of his tent in uniform. There followed a few quick orders, and the going and coming of aides, as the hum of excitement and preparation filled the brigade quarters. Presently, from every side pulsed the rhythmic rattle and beat of a hundred snare-drums, swelling each moment in speed and power, until the woods reverberated with the call to arms. The men heard for the first time the "long roll" and fell into line with quickening heart-beats.

Pat Reed, the Color Sergeant of Company I, had been sick since the last review of the division, where he had sprained his side, and Colonel Sweeny had asked Jerome Davis to act as Color Sergeant and to carry the colors of the regiment until Reed was well. He was given five picked men as his Color Guard, and so it came about that the college student and not the big Irishman, held the battle flag of the Fifty-second in its first engagement.

About half-past eight a youthful staff officer, riding a foaming horse, dashed up to Colonel Sweeny, and saluting cried: — "They're cutting Prentiss and Sherman to pieces, Sir; General McClernand requests that you advance your brigade, at once, to reinforce his left center." The brigade was wheeled to the right and put at the double-quick up the Corinth road toward the front.[1]

As the brigade struck the road, it passed a stream of stragglers and wounded men moving to the rear. Ambulances full of wounded went groaning by, while many with less serious wounds were walking, with arms and heads bandaged. A hard sight this, for unaccustomed nerves, but not so hard as the groups of frightened, demoralized

[1] The Third Brigade was placed under the command of Colonel Sweeny and in addition to the Fifty-second, was made up of the Seventh, Fiftieth, Fifty-seventh and Fifty-eighth Illinois and the Eighth Iowa Infantry regiments. This was the largest brigade that entered the Battle of Shiloh, taking into action 4,198 officers and men.

men, without rifles, without haversacks or canteens, in many cases without hats and coats, who were skulking through the woods toward the river. Some were still running; others exhausted, were sitting beside the road, utterly confused, holding their heads in their hands. Every now and then the ranks opened to let pass an ammunition wagon with its four horses straining through the mud, while with a turmoil of oaths, splashing mud, creaking harness and pounding caissons, an Ohio battery of light artillery went careering to the front, its drivers lashing the steaming horses into foam, and the trim gunners holding their places on the limber boxes with difficulty. Steadily from the front came the swelling roar of cannon and crash of small arms, telling their own tale of the deepening combat.

It was now nearing ten o'clock. The Confederates in three lines of battle, each comprising about ten thousand men, had deployed into a semicircle and had struck with great fury all along the front line of Union camps. Prentiss' raw division, surprised in its tents, had been driven back; Sherman's left had been turned with the breaking of Hildebrand's Brigade, and thus both McClernand and Sherman with their flanks exposed, had been forced back to new positions behind the Purdy road.

Wallace's Third Division was ordered to support Prentiss, and, together with Hurlbut, occupied a strong position at the crest of a thickly wooded slope. Here, into the slight hollow of a washed-out road, the men of the Second and Third Divisions threw themselves, and here they fought for six hours, resisting the tremendous attacks launched against them by General Bragg. Between the right of this strong position and the left of McClernand's line was a dangerous gap into which Hardee was directing a mass of Louisiana troops to break the Union center. Sweeny's Brigade was thrown into this gap.

As the Fifty-second neared the front, it came within range of the Confederate batteries, and shells and round shot began to fall over and among the men. Trees a foot in diameter, lopped off at the base, would fall across the road and branches and twigs began to fly in every direction. The men could not realize the power of the spent, round shot, which seemed to come so slowly and to pass so silently to the rear. One man put his foot out to stop a rapidly rolling ball and the foot was severed at the ankle. Some came ricochetting slowly enough for the men to open ranks and let them through, others came so rapidly that several men would be killed or wounded. A round shot from a thirty-pound Parrott struck a private full in the chest, cut him nearly in two, lopped the arm off of the man behind, and buried itself in the flank of a great roan mare attached to an ammunition wagon. The animal's scream shocked the brigade; there was an ugly gap in Company D, and work for the regimental surgeon. The line closed up and swung forward on the double-quick. And so the Fifty-second, the Dundee boys of Company I, leading with the regimental colors, wheeled into battle line and received its baptism of fire.

Ordered to lie down on the slope of a hill to the right and in support of their division commander, they watched for two hours the tremendous fury of the assaults of General Bragg upon the Second and Third Divisions. Lying in the sunken road and behind a thicket straggling up a long slope, the Federal troops could sweep the approach with a storm of minie bullets and shells from their batteries. Here they saw brigade after brigade of hitherto victorious Confederates sweep with splendid dash up the slope, only to fall back in shattered fragments before the blazing line of Federal fire. The Confederates gave this awful slope the name of the " Hornet's Nest."

It was a severe experience for a first battle: two hun-

dred cannon incessantly booming, shaking the earth and throwing a gray pall of smoke, which hung in sulphurous masses over the woods. Between and above the concussions of the great rifled guns, crashed the steady roar of small arms playing the treble of the iron orchestra. Shells were bursting over and in front of the reclining men. There came a blinding flash, an ear-rending detonation, and a four-inch shell burst in front of Company I. As the smoke cleared away, two boys, one holding his head where the scalp was torn away, lay writhing on the ground. Jerome Davis had heard the whistle of hurtling steel, as a jagged piece of shell passed a few inches from his head and buried itself in the bank behind him. Will Harlow of Dundee heard it, too, for it fanned the faces of both men as they lay close together.

The strain of inaction was telling upon the Fifty-second reserves, who were witnesses, but not participants in these fearful scenes. Every now and then a shot would wound or kill one of the men, while the fearful uproar and sights of death and heroism had worked the men far past the fighting pitch. As yet the reserve column had not fired a shot.

The day swung by the burning hour of noon, and still the Confederate attack, like a mighty iron flail, beat with the alternate pulsations of a great engine, first on the one flank, then the other of the Federal lines. The Confederates came in crowding, rhythmic charges, concentrating superior numbers at nearly every point of attack. Sherman and McClernand, repeatedly outflanked, were steadily forced back toward the river. Sherman made one gallant stand after another, but many of his raw troops ran like sheep at the first charge of an enemy that kept coming on and on, unmindful of the gaps in his lines.

About half-past twelve, McClernand and Sherman decided to fall back to a third line of defence along the

Savannah Road, about a mile from the river, where their left flank would be conterminous with the Third Division at the "Hornet's Nest." During this change in position of the Union lines, General Hardee sent in Pond with three Louisiana regiments and Wharton's Cavalry to break up the disordered Federal divisions before their new position could be formed. Colonel Sweeny ordered the Fifty-second Illinois to oppose this Confederate force which was swinging in to flank McClernand from the right. As the men got under way, they saw a splendid body of cavalry, Wharton's Texas Rangers, charging at a trot across an open field — big, lean, bronzed, men from the plains, riding with the ease of cowboys, scattering before them a broken regiment of Wisconsin volunteers, whose German colonel was stoutly trying to rally them. On came the victorious Texans, their pace increased to a gallop, riding in solid ranks with flying banners and flourishing swords. Their commander led on a black horse, coming in great bounds at the head of his troop.

"Attention! Battalion! on the double-quick! march!!" A line officer roared the command. The Fifty-second charged up the hill at the four hundred flashing sabers, and at frightfully short range, halted, took deliberate aim and fired a volley into the faces of the oncoming squadron. Full two hundred bullets found their mark. The carnage was awful; half the horses were riderless, as the troop wheeled in retreat and dashed back across the field. Here and there, riders in falling had caught a foot in the stirrup, their bodies striking the ground but once in ten or fifteen feet as the horses rushed back on the keen run. The tension was broken, the men had tasted blood, had seen the enemy in wild retreat, and were eager to be led forward.

From now on till the end of the day, the regiment fought under the command of McClernand and Sherman, on the right wing of the Federal battle line. Hitherto it

had been detached from the brigade, but now joined its fellow regiments and, with them, went under the immediate command of Colonel Sweeny. With its colonel leading the brigade, its lieutenant-colonel absent on leave, and its major injured early in the day, all through the confusion and carnage of that afternoon, the regiment had no regular commander, the company captains acting in concert. When the regiment moved, the companies formed on the colors in the center of the line, which soon became the soul of the regiment and gave the signal for advance or retreat.

The Confederate attack was now concentrated upon the right flank of the Union army. Heavy masses of troops were moving to the right, in Hardee's effort to turn this wing and crumple it up upon the center, as Breckenridge was rolling Hurlbut and Stuart up on the left. Johnston's plan was to catch the Federal army between these two flanking movements and crush or capture it.

The Fifty-second was ordered to the support of Silversparre's battery, which from a rounded knoll above Tillman Creek was pouring a rapid fire into the enemy, now deploying out of the woods to the right. "Defend these guns," cried Sweeny. "If the Rebels try to capture them, destroy them." He rode rapidly down the line, the reins held in his teeth, his only arm grasping the drawn sword; an erect, slight figure, with military bearing and commanding eyes. The Illinois men lay down a little to the rear of the battery. The four rifled guns were doing splendid work. Company I had never seen a battery in close action before. The gunners were serving the pieces, with clock-like precision, loading, firing and sponging with speed and accuracy. At the discharge of a piece, the gun carriage leapt from the ground, a jet of flame, twice the length of the gun, shot from its mouth, and the shell tore wide gaps in the oncoming lines of gray.

Suddenly, out of a copse, eighty rods to the right, came a body of men in four files, on the run. They were dressed in blue, sons of wealthy citizens in New Orleans, the "Crescent Zouaves," the pride of Pond's Brigade. They were so near that the Dundee men could hear the order of their officers, as they executed the movement, "on the right, by file, into line." Their eyes were on the prize of the battery and they had not yet seen the Northern regiment lying in the grass behind.

"Steady, men, steady!" cried Captain Bowen. A click of lifting hammers ran down the long blue line in the grass; some of the men swore deeply under their breath. The handsome regiment of Zouaves, flushed with the expected capture, were closing in a semicircle around the battery, whose gunners still worked like automatons at the pieces; the Rebel color-sergeant, a boy of twenty, was urging his men on like a commissioned officer. When twenty rods away, up flashed Captain Bowen's sword:— "Attention! Battalion! take aim! fire!!" As one man, the regiment rose, took deliberate aim, and six hundred rifles crashed into the doomed Zouaves. They all dropped as if dead. Nearly one half were either killed or so badly wounded that they lay where they fell. The remainder rolled over and over, behind trees and logs, until they reached the Confederate line.

With a cheer, the Fifty-second charged and gained the top of the ridge, which was covered with the dead and dying Confederates. Of this charge and the subsequent fighting, Corporal Davis' diary records:— "The flag went as fast and as far as anybody. I leaped over the bodies of several dead men before I halted. The enemy were in plain sight, three hundred yards distant, advancing slowly to our right. I picked up the gun of a dead man, which seemed to be loaded and capped, but it would not go off. This was the nearest that I came to firing a gun at

the enemy during the four years that I was in the service.

"I soon found it was serious business to hold the flag in battle. It seemed as if the whole Confederate Army were firing at the flag-bearer. I took refuge behind a large tree, three feet in diameter, since all the men had been ordered to take advantage of any cover they could get. But some fifteen men wanted the protection of the same tree, standing behind it while loading and stepping out to fire. I saw that my flag was drawing the fire of the enemy into this squad of men; several were already wounded, and I felt I could not remain. So, I left my large tree and rushed forward to a little tree, six inches in diameter, and stood holding the flag while pressing my shoulder and side against this tree. But the excited men behind were firing so carelessly that their balls fanned my face, and I feared I would be shot in the back; so I returned and stood on the open top of the ridge with no protection. I stood there about thirty-five minutes. It was an indescribable experience. The bullets fell like hail in the gravel at my feet; they fanned my face; they pierced my clothes, they slightly wounded both legs just below the knee; they riddled the flag. I expected every second to be killed.

"After about twenty minutes, I looked back and saw another regiment lying down not far away; the color sergeant was also lying down flat, and holding up his flag-staff, around which the flag was wound, closely furled. I thought it would be a great relief if I could hold the flag in that way. Just then, Colonel Sweeny rode up and coolly sat on his horse a few paces to my right and rear. I turned, marched up to him and saluting asked: — "Colonel, how should the flag be carried in time of battle, furled or unfurled?" His black eyes looked at me as if they would pierce me through, and shaking his left, his only hand at me, he shouted, "Keep them unfurled, Sir,

and defend them with your life." I had hardly strength enough left to turn and walk back, but I did and stood there for fifteen minutes longer, in the midst of the leaden hail."

The afternoon was wearing toward its close. Beauregard, in command since the death of Johnston, now concentrated for a supreme effort to crush Sherman and McClernand at their last stand on the Savannah Road. Leonidas Polk, the "Fighting Bishop of the Confederacy," was ordered in with his fresh brigades, to reinforce Hardee and Pond. Brigade after brigade was sent in, deployed across the open and recoiled from the withering Federal fire. Colonel Sweeny says: — "The battle here raged furiously, the enemy bringing up fresh troops constantly. Having no artillery we fought to great disadvantage; nevertheless, my men acted with the most determined bravery. Each man seemed to feel as if the fate of the day depended upon his conduct alone, knowing, as he did, that if we could keep the enemy at bay until Buell's troops crossed the river, the army would be saved."

The ridge held by the Federal line was an extremely exposed position, but it commanded the approach in front, which it swept with an unbroken line of fire. The Confederate brigades were sent in to the attack like gray waves beating up the slope out of the woods; stopping for cover at fences, broken ground or fallen trees, loading and firing and rushing on to the next line of cover. The ridge must be carried; Sherman's right wing must be broken, or the day was lost to the South.

For a few minutes there came a lull in the attack, an ominous quiet before the gathering of the storm. Out of the woods across the gentle vale to the south, came a magnificent line of men — Barksdale's Mississippians and Polk's Louisianians; on they came in four compact columns, two full brigades, swinging across the open, with regular rhythm

and formation, as if on dress parade. The front rank leaped the rail fence, without stopping to fire; into the dry gully at the foot of the slope and out on its upper side, surged the Confederate lines, tall, gaunt, bearded men. The Dundee boys could see their slouch hats pulled down over their eyes, could count the stars in their blood-red battle flags. The Federal line was blazing now and men were dropping fast, but still they came.

Jerome Davis, standing with the battle flag of his regiment, four out of five of his color guard killed or wounded in the grass around him, suddenly realized that he was almost alone. The firing of his regiment had slackened. Looking around, he could see the boys of the Fifty-second dropping back to a second line of defence in the woods behind the ridge. Panic had seized them; cover of some kind must be had to stop that rolling flood that momentarily threatened to engulf them. The blood of his forefathers surged through the young body of the color-bearer of the Fifty-second. Was it for this that they had fought and strained through the fearful hours of that bloody day; for this that he had watched his comrades fall by the thousand under the bullets of that gray host; for this that his forefathers had risked all, to build up a free and united nation; was that glorious flag above him, into which his kin had helped to place new stars, to be torn and trampled by southern traitors? Not yet, by God's help, not yet! The slender form stiffened against the weight of the great flag; it whipped slowly back and forth in the faces of the oncoming Confederates, and above the song of the "minies" and dull roar of battle, high and clear he sang the rally cry of the Republic:

> "The Union forever, Hurrah boys! Hurrah!
> Down with the traitors and up with the flag,
> For we'll rally round the flag, boys,
> Rally once again,
> Shouting the battle cry of 'Freedom.'"

The wounded men in the grass around the flag, joined in the refrain, the company captains took it up, and with a rush the Fifty-second came back to the ridge; the gap in the line was filled; Mississippi and Louisiana fought stubbornly, but reeled back across the slope to cover, leaving a carpet of dead and wounded like autumn leaves on a wind-swept road.

The fighting Confederate bishop had learned a lesson and now sent heavy out-flanking columns to left and right. Sweeny despatched an orderly to the left and a staff officer to the right to see how the fight was progressing. The orderly brought word that he could see nothing but the enemy and that the brigade would be surrounded in ten minutes. The staff officer reported that Sherman had fallen back, out of sight, and that the enemy were turning the right flank. The ridge must be abandoned. The order for retreat was given. Jerome Davis began to march slowly backward, holding the flag aloft, with the regiment in line of battle a few rods to the rear. Presently numbness seized him, and with no sense of pain the blood came with a rush from his left leg. A minie ball had plowed through the thigh close to the body. Staggering to a tree, he supported himself and the flag against it, without letting the colors fall or touch the ground. A comrade grasped the staff, as he sank to the ground, weak with loss of blood.

That morning, while in line of battle in front of the camp he had returned to his tent to get the towel given him by his Aunt Mercy Wilder to meet just such an emergency as this. To the forethought of the dear old aunt, no less than his own presence of mind, he now owed his life a second time. With his life-blood ebbing in jets from the great hole that had severed the main artery, he kept his head and insisted that the bandage be adjusted above the wound, and so checked the flow. He tied his handkerchief in a hard knot, placed it under the bandage just over the

artery, and with a small stick which was within reach, inserted in the bandage, twisted it until the flow entirely ceased. Then he fainted away.

Captain Brown, who had run to his assistance, thought that he was dying, and seeing the enemy advancing on three sides, rejoined his retreating regiment. After falling back some distance, the captain looked about and saw that the stricken corporal had revived enough to raise his head. "Jerome is alive, boys; don't let the Rebs get him," he cried, and started back through a rain of bullets in the face of the oncoming enemy. Two other Dundee boys, Jake Brinkerhof and Milo Sherman, followed their captain back through that leaden storm, picked up their unconscious comrade and carried him in their arms to the rear. It had taken the final moment of the battle and apparent defeat to produce the high-water mark of heroism in this devoted act of friendship.

Years did not dull the memory of the anguish of the following hours. In spite of earnest pleading that he be left to die on the field, his comrades carried him to the landing and placed him upon one of the hospital ships that were rapidly filling with the army of sorely wounded.

Night was falling. The force of the Condeferate attack had beaten itself out upon the heroic resistance of the Northern troops. Surprised, routed, disorganized, outnumbered and outgeneralled, Grant's army had fought at bay, from dawn till dark, and now exhausted but undefeated, with fifteen thousand men in battle line, with their backs to the deep river, with a whole brigade in the hands of the enemy, with thousands of demoralized deserters huddling under the banks of the river, and over ten thousand of its bravest men dead or wounded, it bivouacked for the night upon its arms and awaited the issue of the morrow. With the arrival of Buell's Corps during the night, Beauregard's opportunity of crushing the two Federal

armies, separately, vanished, and the sunset of the second day's battle saw the Confederate columns in full retreat upon Corinth.

The long fight for life began on the deck of the river steamer, where for three days and nights, without blankets, without food, without surgical attention, in drenching rains and burning sun, the stricken heroes lay and suffered and wondered why their lives had been spared for such misery as this. Through those terrible hours, Jerome Davis had kept fast hold of the stick which had stopped the hemorrhage of his wound, and though the leg was swollen to nearly twice its normal size, the wound began to heal. The diary throws a brighter light on the picture. It tells of a comrade, Simpson, wounded in his arm, who could carry water, while Davis with the use of his arms could dress wounds; the orange given him by another wounded friend, the only food of the three days, and the wonderful nectar of its juice; the German captain who donated dry flannel underclothes to the drenched and chilled sufferer; the joy of being found by his company mates, who wrapped him in warm blankets, carried him to camp and put him to bed in his own tent; the tears of happiness shed, as they loaded him with comforts and kindnesses, and nursed him back to life.

Here, he first learned of the death of his friend and company mate, Sergeant Samuel Anderson, who was shot through the breast, while kneeling to fire, during that terrible retreat from the ridge.

After a week in camp, there followed the tedious voyage on the boiler deck of a river steamer, when, with hundreds of other wounded, he was slowly carried toward the north. Arrived at St. Louis, he was placed on a Chicago and Alton train and, after two more days, the home in Dundee was entered, and three weeks after the battle, his first real medical attention was received. For six weeks, the young sol-

dier hovered between life and death, but his splendid constitution, with the tender nursing of his devoted Aunt Mercy, won the long combat, and toward the end of June he began to sit up for a few minutes each day.

Chapter VI

ON GENERAL SWEENY'S STAFF

JULY brought returning strength, and as soon as he was able to walk with crutches, he decided to visit his brothers in Homer, New York. After a month in the East, he was put on recruiting service in Dundee and in September went to Beloit to get his books and effects which were stored there. Here a temptation awaited him. President Chapin suggested that now, after his severe wound and a year's service in the army, his duty to his country was fulfilled, and it would be entirely fitting for him to go back to college and finish his education. The argument was plausible; it accorded with his own desires; the college year would open in five days. Under the oaks on the beautiful campus, he fought it out. The lure of academic seclusion, the spell of the college library, the thirst for knowledge, were strong upon him. And yet, far to the south, sleeping under the stars, marching over endless roads, meeting, perhaps, those same waves of oncoming gray, were the Dundee boys, the boys of Company I. No faltering now. His country needed him still. He packed his effects, shipped them to Dundee, and applied to be sent back to his regiment.

At Springfield, Ill., he reported at the Adjutant-General's office. The clerk in charge, on hearing his name and company number, handed him an official document. It was a commission as Second Lieutenant in Company I, Fifty-second Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment, signed by the Quarter-master-general of the U. S. Army and marked, — "For meritorious conduct at the Battle of Pittsburg Landing." Of the receipt of the commission and the try-

ing experience to which it introduced him, he wrote, —" I could hardly believe my eyes nor understand how it had come about, but, of course, accepted the commission, and as I could not purchase an officer's outfit at the front, bought uniform, sword, etc., and was at once put in charge of 125 men who were to join their regiments at Corinth. We reached St. Louis at eleven o'clock at night, but as there was a large ball in progress, not an officer was to be found at Headquarters. So I told the men to take care of themselves until morning and meet me at the landing. I took fifteen of the men of my own regiment and tried to find a place to stay. We soon came to the Planter's Hotel. I asked the clerk what he would charge for lodging us. He named a very high price. I asked him if he charged soldiers such a price as that. He replied that they did not care to entertain soldiers. I then went to the door, marched my men in, and we spread out blankets on the marble floor of the parlor and slept till morning. The proprietor looked daggers at us the next morning, but said nothing; neither did I raise the question of paying anything again.

" We reached Corinth at night. At roll-call I was surprised that only five or six of my company came and spoke to me. They were all friends when I went away. After roll-call the first sergeant took my arm and we went down to the tent of the first lieutenant, and he soon told me what was the matter. The company had elected First Sergeant Bailey as second lieutenant. Captain Brown requested Colonel Sweeny to send to Governor Yates for a commission for Sergeant Bailey. The colonel asked him whom he would recommend as first sergeant in place of Sergeant Bailey. He replied that he would recommend Sergeant Davis, for the position. Sweeny exclaimed, ' Davis, Davis, is that man in your company? I shall promote that man, Sir, shall promote that man!' And promote him he did, though all the field officers of the regiment

sent a petition to the Governor to commission Sergeant Bailey. This was the greatest trial I had ever met. I tried to resign, but could not. So I accepted the inevitable and began my work with the company. After a few days when they found out that I had really nothing to do with the matter, they all became friendly again."

Soon after Lieutenant Davis' return to his regiment, the first lieutenant of his company was detailed on staff duty at brigade headquarters, and while the captain was sick, the command of the company fell upon him. Corinth was surrounded by Confederate guerilla bands and many attempts were made to intercept them. Company I found that it was discouraging business for infantry to chase mounted troopers. December 9th, 1862, the regiment started on an expedition into Alabama to disperse a force of cavalry under Colonel Roddy. The men were loaded into wagons, twelve to a team. At Big Bear Creek the enemy made a determined stand.

The Fifty-second was ordered down from the wagons and formed in battle line to charge the enemy. "When I heard the sharp crack of rifles, it brought back all the horrors of Shiloh, and for a few minutes completely unnerved me. It took all my will power to move at all. It seemed as if I could not stand. But I gathered myself together, formed my company and we started on. My fear lasted, perhaps, for five minutes and then passed away forever. I never had such a sensation again in the nineteen battles and skirmishes of the war." Company I was thrown forward as skirmishers. A battery of four guns stood sharply defined against the setting sun on the opposite bank of the river. With several supporting regiments it poured its fire full in the face of the advancing lines of blue. The enemy were retiring toward the bridge under cover of the shells. "The gunners had the range and as we crossed the open field, a half mile wide, to the river,

it seemed as if a shell or solid shot passed between every two men in the line." The Confederates made good their escape, setting fire to the bridge and effectually ending the pursuit.

A night's ride in the wagons, a day's march in the rain, and the brigade was halted to rest. Sweeny ordered the Dundee Company to picket the camp and Lieutenant Davis to place the sentinels. No sleep and scant rations for forty-eight hours had completely exhausted the men, and for the first and only time in his military experience he found his sentinels asleep at their posts. "I spent the night in going the rounds of the pickets and waking up the men, but hadn't the heart to report them. We marched the whole distance to Bear Creek, twenty miles, that night, the last half only halting ten minutes. As there were not teams enough I waded the river. I was pretty well satisfied with my day's work; having marched twenty-five miles, run five, fought a battle, and waded a river; pretty good for a 'wounded man.' I was in command of the company and they all did well, Davenport, Dock, Carnaby and the rest. We brought back forty bales of cotton and forty prisoners."

The winter was occupied with dismal marches into the surrounding country to intercept the movements of Confederate cavalry. These forced marches seldom accomplished anything but the exhaustion of the men. Now it was a hurried night march to intercept General Forrest in an attack on Jackson, Tenn.; again, an effort to save a depot of military stores from a cavalry raid. Sometimes the tired men caught sight of the retreating squadrons of the enemy; more often they arrived just too late and marched back to Corinth again. Sweeny's brigade was dubbed "The Foot Cavalry," from the distances it covered. December 19th, the brigade started at ten o'clock at night, marched all night and all the next day and into

the second night, with only one halt for breakfast and five minute halts every three hours. Of those forty miles Lieutenant Davis' memory was a nightmare. It was one of his first long marches after the healing of his wound, from which he was still limping. "The last ten miles I marched in intense agony. The neck and back muscles were especially excruciating. When we halted for a few minutes I would lie down on the ground and on getting up again it seemed as if I could hear those muscles snap." It was some satisfaction to know that this fearful march served to turn Forrest northwards, where he was defeated by the Jackson forces.

On these long night expeditions he marched many miles asleep: "Falling asleep until awakened by stumbling on some rough hub, then dozing off again as the exhausted line of men lurched forward over the muddy road." The rains of the later winter made the roads next to impassable. A six mule team could draw but 200 feet of lumber through the mire. The men were constantly falling down, to rise again with difficulty, but their spirit overcame such conditions and found an outlet in song and banter. As they floundered through the night, the boys kept calling from one end of the command to the other in the language of the river men: "Quarter less twain"; "Three feet"; "No bottom," etc.

The brigade was ordered to winter in Corinth, and to build houses from the white oak shakes, which they split and made into clapboards. Fifteen men were quartered in each cabin. Early in the winter Lieutentant Davis was detailed to drill the non-commissioned officers of the regiment in the Manual of Arms. This meant intense application on the "Manual." He threw himself at the new task with the same intensity that marked his boyhood onslaughts upon Algebra and had the satisfaction, a few months later, of having his company take the prize

in a competitive drill of the fifty companies of his brigade.

Late in February, Dr. Bettelheim, who had worked as a missionary in the Loo Choo Islands in 1846, gave a series of lectures on "Japan." Lieutenant Davis heard the first of these lectures with deep interest. Keen was his regret when the regiment marched way the following day to Jacinto. The lecture to the crowding soldiers in the Baptist Church of Corinth was a link in the chain of influences that resulted in his sailing to Japan, a missionary, nine years later.

These long winter evenings in Corinth brought more time for study than ever came again while in the army. He sent for his college text-books, and read philosophy, Plato's Gorgias, Guizot's History of Civilization, the Greek Testament and Hardee's Tactics. He records reading most of "Demosthenes de Corona" and the reviewing of several Latin authors, and so far as the movements of his regiment permitted, he read regularly *The American Missionary*, *The New York Independent* and the *Chicago Tribune*. He wrote daily entries, throughout the four years of the war, in a pocket diary of standard size which his sister supplied him.

One of the first appointments made by General Sweeny, after promotion to the command of his brigade, was to detail Lieutenant Davis as Acting Assistant Inspector General upon his staff. The promotion came as a disappointment to him for he preferred to remain with his own company. His first day at Staff Headquarters proved a harder test than Shiloh: "One of the first things I did after reporting for duty was to get out an order for whiskey toddy for a treat all around, which I politely declined. Then at dinner, General Sweeny sent for some beer, which I also declined. After dinner he offered me a cigar, and when I declined that, too, he said, with some warmth,

'Well, where do you expect to die when you go to!' But this was the last of it, I was never ridiculed or interfered with for my Christian principles." The general and his staff were genial, large-hearted, manly men. One of them afterwards said, referring to this event and Lieutenant Davis' strict principles: "His religion was genuine. He never forced it on others, but was absolutely true to his convictions. His life backed up his religion, so that every one honored him for it."

Of this experience, he wrote: "Except that Christ is with me, I am very lonely. All the other members of the Staff smoke, drink, and play cards, while I, alone by myself, read or work at office business." He set himself with characteristic intensity to master the details of his new position. He wrote of the comparative advantages of the appointment, "I am not going to mourn about it. I am not compelled to drink liquor nor help pay for much, nor to smoke cigars, play cards or swear, and I think as many times before I spend a quarter as ever. I have a greater chance to discipline my mind, learn military science and human nature, and am probably doing my country more good than I should in the company. And, then, it is an honorable position, but this is the least to be considered. As far as danger is concerned, in an engagement I shall be an Aide de Camp for the General, and mounted officers are in more danger than men on foot." His self-imposed retirement from the staff social activities made it possible for him to acquire that thorough familiarity with the technicalities of his work which resulted in the marked confidence placed in him by his general. He seems to have merited the praise of a fellow officer, of this period, — "Lieutenant Davis was a splendid soldier. He was absolutely reliable, dependable through and through!"

His new duties included the daily inspection of each camp in the brigade, covering the quality of food, its manner of

cooking and serving, the sanitary condition of the grounds, the efficiency of guard patrol, etc. Once a month came a formal inspection of each brigade in line of battle, when every man's arms, accoutrements and dress were examined. Each month a minute report had to be made to the Inspector General of the Army. Occasionally, food stores were condemned and destroyed. Sometimes it was a lot of hams that were so lively that, as the boys said, — "Men must be stationed with fixed bayonets to keep them from running away." The work pressed severely through the hot summer months, Lieutenant Davis being constantly at his office desk, or in and out of the saddle in different parts of the brigade camp. "Corinth, June 20th. Dear sister:— I have been very busy this week inspecting the four regiments in the brigade, one each day. . . . It seemed queer to have a regiment drawn up in line, and for me to go around and inspect their guns, knapsacks, etc., followed by a colonel, a captain and other officers, listening to the criticism of a second lieutenant."

The monotony was varied by a visit from the evangelists, Revs. K. A. Burnell and G. W. Wainright, who held meetings with the soldiers. Their companionship and spiritual counsel was a blessing to many, and, especially, to Lieutenant Davis, who felt the need of such work for the men of his command. "Corinth, August. 17th, 1863. Dear sister: — Mr. Wainright preached a grand sermon to our regiment this afternoon. It seems good to hear a sermon that is a sermon again. If our chaplaincy were vacant we should hardly let him go back."

He was active during this same period in distributing reading matter in his brigade and in establishing a small, portable library for his own regiment. This contained eighty volumes and became a part of the outfit of one of the hospital ambulances. For two and a half years this library followed the Fifty-second on its marches, until

it was abandoned near the close of the Carolina campaign. The books were loaned to the men of the whole regiment and were literally read to pieces. "La Grange, Sept. 5th. Dear Sister: — It is the close of a very busy week. . . . Three long reports based on inspection and over fifty papers pertaining to the inspection of old property in the brigade . . . have passed through my office today. It would be very pleasant to come home, but I am doing too much good here to be spared. A great deal of filth has been removed from the camps, rations have been improved and various abuses checked. Then there is a wide field here for spiritual work. I love to distribute reading matter to the soldiers, who are eager to receive it, and to talk to them of the claims of the Great Captain; but oh, how poorly prepared I am to do my duty!"

In the latter part of August the brigade was distributed along the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, with headquarters at La Grange, Tenn. Shortly after he was appointed Acting Assistant Inspector General of the Third Division, now commanded by General Sweeny. This greatly increased his responsibilities and pressure of work, for it required constant riding between the camps of the different commands. "Mon., 7th, Inspected company B. Went to Grisson's Bridge and inspected the detachment there, and returned to Germantown and inspected the Fifty-second Illinois. Tues., 8th. Go to La Fayette and inspect the detachment there, back to Collierville and finish the inspection of the Sixty-sixth Indiana. Very hot week. Wed., 7th. Go to Moscow and inspect the Seventh Iowa. Thurs., 10th. Return to La Grange and inspect the Eighteenth Ill., and attend prayer-meeting there in the evening. Fri., 11th. Inspect the Fourteenth Indiana Battery and Second Iowa Infantry.

"La Grange, Tenn., Sept. 17. Dear Father: — I have made two applications to be sent back to the company,

but the General has assigned me to duty here as Acting Assistant Inspector General of the division. Every feeling in my nature opposes the holding a position which should be filled by, at least, a captain, but as, if I were to be hung and had made every effort in my power to save myself, I should meet my fate cheerfully, so now, feeling that I have done all in my power to avert the evil destiny which seems to hang over me, I shall enter upon the duties of my office cheerfully. I shall have the oversight of the whole division: — three brigades of infantry and two of cavalry. The last ten days have been the busiest yet experienced. . . . I had planned to have last Sunday to rest and attend church in the forenoon. After dinner I had settled down to read in my room, when up came a clerk saying that Colonel Wilson, the Inspector General of the Department of the Tennessee, wished to see me. I found Captain Catlin, U. S. A., the Corps Inspector there, also, and he wished me to accompany them on a tour of inspection, so ordering the ambulance, we rode until night. . . . We occupy a splendid residence in a lovely spot for our headquarters. Some ladies with a few officers are playing the piano in the front parlor, while I am writing, but I prefer to visit at home, to associating with any ladies I have met in the South yet. The refined ones are all 'Secesh,' and the Union ones are only about half civilized."

On July 27th, Lieutenant Davis heard of the death of his brother at the Battle of Gettysburg. John Davis was killed in the historic charge of the First Minnesota, which was sacrificed on the second day of the battle by General Hancock, while reforming his broken lines on Cemetery Ridge. Longstreet sent in two Confederate brigades to crush Hancock before Meade could reinforce him. To gain time, the First Minnesota was ordered in a countercharge to temporarily check the enemy. Of the 262 men who followed Colonel Colville on this forlorn hope, forty-

seven came back, but the 215 heroes who fell sold their lives so dearly that ten priceless minutes were gained for their Corps Commander, and Hancock and the pivot of the Union position was saved. John Davis was buried in a trench with eighteen others, on the field near the spot where he fell. After the close of the war Colonel Davis visited Gettysburg and had one of the nineteen nameless stones marked with his brother's name and regimental numbers.

John Davis was a strong, resourceful soldier. He had passed unscathed through the active Virginia campaigns of 1861–63, having taken part in nearly all of the fighting of the Army of the Potomac, from Bull Run to Gettysburg. There was a strong affection between the two brothers that the three years of common service for their country had deepened. In one of the last letters that Lieutenant Davis received from his brother, John Davis wrote: — "For my own part, I feel like going cheerfully forward, trusting in an all-wise Providence for guidance and protection, and believing that the cause of freedom demands whatever sacrifice may be in our power to undergo."

On July 27th, Jerome Davis wrote his father: — "I have not heard from John (since the Battle of Gettysburg), and I fear he has not escaped this time. Don't work too hard. Yours truly, Jerome." The following day came the expected news. The first words which met his eye in the home letter told the story: "Killed in action about sunset, July 2nd, at Gettysburg, in a charge made by our regiment." He wrote his sister: — "I have for a long time felt that if I had to lose a friend or die myself while this war lasted, I wanted the Grim Reaper to come upon the battlefield; 'In a charge which our regiment made.' It is glorious to die thus; to be a martyr for his own country." There is no word of regret, no trace of bitterness, but a conviction that the Great Cause was worthy the gift of his

brother's life, together with a shade of exultation that John had died the glorious death of a hero.

The circumstances of his brother's death made a lasting impression on Jerome Davis. From this point on we find in his military experience a deeper note of patriotism, a quicker recognition that his life was not his own, that he, with all his men, was standing in the very presence of the God of Battles, and might momentarily be summoned before Him. His daily life became exalted above the drudgery of the camp routine, and his life slogan, "For God and for men," was now interpreted, "for God and Fatherland." If the day's work did not bring chances for winning distinction on the field of glory, it, at least, gave every opportunity to serve his general faithfully and to make his reports and inspections with care and regularity. The hundreds of soldiers of nearly every rank with whom he came into personal contact presented the greatest possible chance for making his life count for men.

Almost every surviving member of Company I has, after fifty years' interval, spoken of the way in which Lieutenant Davis fathered the men of his command. Their welfare was always uppermost in his mind. "Sept. 16th, 1863. Springfield. Dear Augusta: — I did not tell my reasons for not coming back but I will. If I had left the boys here alone, they would not have got along near as well. They were strangers to camp life, and would have drawn no clothes, and had nothing but a blanket to sleep on. I am not living for myself. If I were, I never should have joined the army."

In spite of the strict military discipline in the brigade, which forbade commissioned officers associating with non-commissioned officers or privates, he could not forget that he had risen from the ranks; that he was one of the boys. He had marched and fought with them in the line; he had shared their wretched fare, the camp sickness, and

privation and toil, and now, neither a commission nor association with superior officers or the comparative luxury of life at brigade headquarters, could cool his sympathies with the men who carried the rifles. "Corinth, Jan. 5, Dear Father: — We have been on half rations since Dec. 20th and do not know when supplies will reach us. I am well and flourishing, if my weight, which is 190 lbs., is any criterion. The boys have not suffered very much yet for food, as I got 100 lbs. of meal for them and they had a little extra rations and we have driven in all the sheep and cattle we could find, so that we have had full rations of fresh meat, or 'fresh bones,' more properly, as the animals all look like the last run of shad."

From the diary of a private in Company I: — "One day after Lieutenant Davis was mounted as an officer on General Sweeny's Staff, we had marching orders and I had to march with my old wound still unhealed. . . . I had fallen behind, and was limping along when Lieutenant Davis overtook me. General Sweeny with the rest of his staff had passed on to the front. Knowing of my wound and the difficulty with which I was marching, Jerome Davis swung from his saddle and handed me the reins, saying, 'Here, Milo, it hurts, doesn't it? Jump into this saddle and rest a little. I want to run ahead and chat with the Company I boys, and when the bugle calls, "halt," just ride till you come to Company I, and I will be there to take the horse.'"

"At Pulaski, Tenn., a noted confederate spy, who was brought in and placed under an insufficient guard, had escaped. General Sweeny ordered the arrest and court-marshal of the two sentinels who had guarded the door. The case excited a great deal of attention in the brigade, as it was said that the authorities were to make an example of the men and inflict full punishment. Though they were two of the best men in my company they were arrested and

put in the chain gang. I went to the Judge Advocate of the division and asked that the men be brought to trial as soon as possible and I appeared as their counsel. We did not call any witnesses in the defense, cross-questioning of the witnesses of the prosecution was sufficient, and the men were acquitted."

It was not only in cases where life and death were the issue that Lieutenant Davis fought for his men. He had a soft spot in his heart for their pranks and horse-play. He knew his company to a man, and could not bear to see them abused. One dark night in Mississippi, when the signal, "taps," had sounded, a tallow dip kept burning in one of the tents of Company I. Presently, a gruff voice was heard at the door, "Lights out, light out here." The men in the tent thought they recognized the voice of a comrade having some sport at their expense. Quick as a flash, Joe Watts sang out, in a loud and cheerful voice, "Oh, go to ——, you can't fool us!" Before the words were out of his mouth, in stepped the Officer of the Guard with a detail of men, with fixed bayonets, demanding to know who had "insulted the dignity of a superior officer." Poor Joe, who owned up at once, was hustled into his clothes, and marched off to the guardhouse. His friends went in a body to Lieutenant Davis' tent, and told him what had happened. In five minutes he was at the guard-house demanding the release of "one of my boys arrested by mistake," and Joe was put back to bed in his own tent by his jubilant mates.

On Sunday, Oct. 11th, General Sherman and his staff were nearly cut off at Collierville by a detachment of Confederates in a sharp fight in which over fifty of Sweeny's brigade were killed and wounded. Lieutenant Davis was at Germantown at the time, and took the first outgoing train to meet his brigade. Passing through Collierville, the dead of both sides were still lying unburied by the

track, where they had fallen the previous day. Reaching La Grange, he was given a despatch by General Carr, commander of the division, to carry to General Sweeny. It was a dangerous errand; twenty-five miles through the enemy's country. With two mounted orderlies, as an escort, he started at noon on the twelfth. All three were well mounted and had orders to ride hard. About midway, as they topped a long incline, they came face to face with a squad of Confederate cavalry climbing the slope toward them. The Northern men had already been seen; a moment's hesitation and they were lost. Lieutenant Davis drew his sword, rose in his stirrups, and with a wild hurrah, as if summoning their command from behind the hill, the three men put spurs directly at the Southern horsemen. The charge made up in impetuosity what it lacked in volume, and supposing the little band of riders to be an outpost of a following force, the gray horsemen wheeled, put spurs to their horses and disappeared down a side road, to the relief of the despatch riders, who saw no more of the enemy before handing General Sweeny the papers at sundown.

Jerome Davis was dissatisfied at being separated from his company. Repeatedly, he tried to return to the line and share the life of the men with whom he had enlisted. General Sweeny frankly said that he could not spare him from his staff. Finally, as a result of an earnest appeal to be relieved, which enumerated eight distinct reasons for his retirement, he was returned to his company, of which he now took command.

The Second Brigade spent the winter of '63–'64 in Pulaski, Tenn. The Fifty-second Illinois was quartered in the Giles County College buildings, where Lieutenant Davis mended a cooking-range and built an oven for his company. The winter passed quietly. There were few expeditions and the command settled into the routine of

guard duty and camp life. Lieutenant Davis was with his company and had ample opportunity for contributing to the life of his men. He wrote to his sister of the Young Men's Christian Association organized in the regiment: "Our association prospers. We have just fitted up a nice room in a residence near by. The absence of the chaplain leaves me president of the Association. Wanser is secretary. Fourteen of our company are already members. . . . I feel a great responsibility as a follower of Christ to perform my duty for Him here in the army faithfully. A great field is open for work, and I pray that myself and all others here, who have named His name, may be faithful. I wish we had a good chaplain. We have some very interesting meetings. Have just started a Bible Class; lesson next Sunday, last half of chapter one, Genesis." Pulaski, April 12. "They have put me in charge of a school for non-commissioned officers again, so I shall have no more guard or forage duty, but as I have to go on all the drills and dress parades, it keeps me pretty busy. From 8 to 10 o'clock, squad drill and company drill; 10 to 12, battalion drill; 1 to 3 P. M., non-commissioned officers' school; 3 to 4, dress parade. Then with seventy men to look after and with having to satisfy all their questions and wants, it pretty much fills up the pieces between."

At Pulaski came the veteran reinlistment of the regiments. The order had come from the War Department that any regiment or company, three-fourths of which would reinlist for three years more, on the expiration of the first three years, should have thirty days furlough at home. Company I would not reinlist until Lieutenant Davis would promise that he would remain with them. His conviction was, that after nine months, when his three years of enlistment would terminate, the war might have reached a stage where he could honorably resign and continue his college course. "Many of the men are anxious

that I should recruit a company for the veteran service, and I presume if I did, that most of them would reinlist. I shall not reinlist again, however, with the present prospects of the speedy close of the war. I think that the fighting will be over in another year, and no inducements could be offered to keep me in the service after that." After two days, during which the men pled with him to remain, he saw that he was keeping his company from reinlisting, and reluctantly consented to join them. The month of January, 1864, was spent on furlough at his home in Dundee.

He suffered much with rheumatism and dysentery during the early spring and he was barely able to advance with his command, when, on April 27th, the order came for the brigade to join General Sherman's army at Chattanooga. The Fifty-second was now attached to the Sixteenth Army Corps which formed the right wing of Sherman's army and participated in the tremendous strategical movements of the Chattanooga and Atlanta campaigns. Sherman's tactics were not to charge the enemy's works in front, but to outflank him and make him fall back, or fight outside his works. Again and again, the 16th Corps was hurled from one end of the federal line to the other, often marching twenty-five miles in the night, as Sherman, "cracking the whip," would double his column on itself and suddenly appear so far to right or left of Johnston as to compel him to fall back or be attacked in the rear.

Though suffering with rheumatism so that it was painful for him to step over a log, Lieutenant Davis now entered upon one of the most severe and long continued campaigns of the war. The diary here speaks for itself: — "May 5th. We marched fifteen miles to Hudson's Mill and encamped. My company were on picket. . . . Sherman swung our corps around to the right, through Snake Creek Gap to outflank the enemy. Then for three days it rained nearly

all the time, and we were moved from place to place, marching all day and working at night on earth works and abattis. Three more days were spent in maneuvering and skirmishing with the enemy, and on the morning of the 15th, our brigade crossed the river in canvas-covered pontoon boats, under cover of a furious artillery fire over our heads, which kept the enemy back. We were no sooner across and formed in line of battle, than a force of the enemy's infantry appeared and charged us, but finding that we were too strong for them, they retired. The pontoon bridge was laid and that night the whole division crossed. May 16th, we marched to Rome's cross roads, and in that engagement our regiment supported Walker's battery."

The following two weeks were days of tremendous marching and ceaseless toil for the Sixteenth Army Corps. Strong men, who had for two years stood every hardship without complaint, now fell out of the ranks, broken down. The hospitals were full to overflowing. Men began to see that battles were won by the side that had the strongest legs and deepest lungs. We read, "May 17th, we marched nearly all night, and continued the next day, reaching Kingston the third day. From this point, all surplus baggage and tents were sent back to Chattanooga. May 24th, 25th, 26th we marched on in the rain toward Dallas, which we reached the evening of the 26th, and my company went on guard at division headquarters. Skirmishing began at daylight on the 27th, and then for five days and nights there was constant skirmishing and fighting, night and day, so that we had almost no sleep. On some of those nights there occurred the most furious cannonading, when sixty to eighty great guns were rapidly firing, lighting up the darkness, and ten thousand rifles were discharged as a chorus. When not fighting, we were working on earthworks, sometimes the whole command, and sometimes by reliefs, night and day."

"May 30th, '64. Dear Sister:— . . . On the 27th skirmishing continued all day. At half-past six the regiment formed in line of battle, the Sixty-sixth Indiana in front of us. Company F of our regiment lost one man killed and two wounded. The Sixty-sixth lost three killed and twenty wounded. At dark we commenced building breast-works, each company building its own front. First the brush is cleared away, then logs cut and piled about three feet high, then a ditch four feet wide and eighteen inches deep is dug and the dirt thrown over the logs. At midnight it was done and we lay down. May 28th: Brisk skirmishing all day. At half-past four the rebels made a desperate charge upon the front line, which lasted twenty minutes, and were repulsed with fearful loss. The front line is about 50 rods in front of us and the rebel bullets came against our embankment very briskly. Continued charges were made away to our left in the evening. Just as we had quietly lain down for the night an order came for us to be ready to move to the left, as the Rebels were charging there. We were hardly in line when a desperate charge was made on our front. It lasted nearly an hour and the sight was terribly grand. It was dark, except for the stars, and looking at the line in front of us, it was one continual blaze of fire, while the discharge of the guns of the batteries to the right and left of us was accompanied by sheets of flame. They made seven different charges during the night, but were repulsed, keeping us up all night. . . . We have hardtack and pork and bacon with sugar and coffee. I have lived on this diet for a month now, and have not been inside of any shelter during that time and was never hungrier or heartier in my life. Boys are all well except Conrad and Russell, who were sent to the hospital."

Kennesaw Mt. "June 20th, Dear Sister:—Very rainy. Very heavy cannonading all day. Two men were severely

wounded while the regiment was on skirmish line. Rebel rifle pits were fifteen to twenty rods distant, and some of the way in plain view. Rather close work, but we came out all right. At dark we made a bargain with the rebs not to fire unless one or the other commenced advancing. And then we talked back and forth an hour or two very familiarly. An Alabama regiment was in front of our right and they were very bitter. The Tennessee regiment on our left front was much less so."

On June 28th, while the Fifty-second Ill. was on the picket line under the base of Kennesaw Mountain, a detail came from the War Department at Washington, appointing Jerome Davis as Assistant Commissary of Musters for the division. He writes, "I had had one experience of staff duty and did not wish another. I wished to remain with my company and they wished me to remain. I worked hard the next two days trying to get relieved from this detail." He had given his word to his company that if they would reinlist, he would remain with them. The new detail not only was distasteful, but conflicted with this compact with his men.

On June 29th, 1864, he wrote a petition to headquarters, begging to be relieved from the appointment, to which he secured the endorsement of his colonel, the general of the brigade and of General Sweeny of the division. He took it in person to Corps Headquarters. Lieutenant Davis was a sorry looking staff officer. He had been marching and sleeping on the ground for two months and his rough army blouse and heavy shoes were stained by the mud and exposure of picket duty and heavy Georgia roads. The Adjutant General of the Sixteenth Corps read the petition and looked the bedraggled lieutenant from head to foot. "You're a d——d fool," said he, "to want to get relieved of such a detail as this. It's a position which any lieutenant in the division would be mighty glad to get. I advise

you, young man, to go back and begin your duties at once." Remonstrance was useless, and with a heavy heart the new assistant commissary of musters of the Second Division again began his work at General Sweeny's headquarters.

His predecessor, an officer of the regular army, had been dissipated and extremely negligent of his work. Large piles of faulty muster rolls were in the office, which had been sent back from Washington to be done over again. This unwelcome bequest, in addition to the regular work of the division, the mustering in and out of all officers who were promoted, and of all men whose terms of service had expired, put a tremendous pressure of work on him. While the division was marching or fighting he acted as aide to his general; otherwise, he worked from seven in the morning until ten at night at his desk, often with the shells of the enemy whizzing over his tent. One entry from this period records, —" Today mustered out some men who had escaped from Andersonville prison; — the merest shadows of men, nearly as black as negroes, only skin and bones; hardly enough left of some of them to muster out."

His first day of active staff duty was typical of those not spent at the desk. " July 3rd, moved to headquarters. Had a broken-down horse assigned me and equipments of the same stripe. The rebels were throwing large shells, about as large as a two gallon jar and the same shape over our headquarters when I arrived. They made a sorry noise. At nine P.M. tents were down and everything ready to move. Very dark. 11 P.M. moved out onto the road. Midnight, had not moved 80 rods. Artillery stuck in a mudhole. 1 A.M. Having become lost from the Staff among the train in the darkness, I found I was ahead, and sat by a fire waiting for the General to come up. 3 A.M. command halted; lay down on my rubber blanket. 4 A.M. Awoke to hear news that the Rebels

had evacuated the Mountain (Kennesaw). 5.30, Got a cup of coffee from a company near by. 6 A. M. our flag moved onto the higher Kennesaw. 8.00, Moved out, passed the Fifteenth Corps swinging to the left. 9.00, was stationed in the road to keep it clear. Prayer meeting was going on to the right in the woods. 12 M. Baited my horse in a sugar cane field, and ate some crumbs of hard bread. 2 P. M. Rested at General Schofield's headquarters. 2.45. Waited beside the road, while the rest of the staff had a toddy at General Crittenden's headquarters. Watched our brigade pass by, hungry, hot and weary. 5.30, halted, had supper and received orders to move to the front. 7.00 P. M. division formed and commenced earthworks. 9.00 P. M. Have been carrying despatches all the time and now drink a cup of coffee and lie down."

The Second Division was bearing the brunt of the turning movement that forced Johnston out of the Kennesaw district and pushed him back upon Atlanta. On July 4th, the Sixteenth Corps celebrated by capturing a long line of confederate earthworks near Kennesaw. " 5.30, awoke and heard cannon to the left. Division ordered forward. Learned that Thomas was pressing the enemy down the railroad line. 12 M. had dinner and moved to the front. Rode round the lines and visited the Dundee boys. 5.00 P. M., went around the lines again with despatches. The Fifty-second was moved out to strengthen the skirmish line and drive in the rebel skirmishers, and I was sent out with Major Campbell to report to the general when the line was ready to charge. The line went in with a yell, through a thick chapparal, 200 yards wide and across an open field and were in the rebel trenches all right. The rebels evacuated to our right and we scattered our men to fill them. I galloped back and reported to General Sweeny and asked for reinforcements. The Fifty-second and Twelfth Illinois advanced and seized the main rebel works. 7.30 P. M. I

am sitting with the General in the rear of our lines. The rebels have opened a battery and are very saucy. One cannon ball has just rolled down to our right close by, scaring a negro so that he double quicked over the hill to the rear out of sight. Now a shell explodes directly behind us, and soon another almost over us, cutting the bushes all around in pieces. I have been through many dangers today, but God has preserved me."

During all the crowded days of this strenuous life, Lieutenant Davis did not forget the group of friends at home. Beside regular letters to his father and sister, he occasionally wrote to the children of the Dundee Sunday School, in whom he had a special interest. He systematized his work at headquarters and became master of a situation that had swamped two men before him, and was able to find time to think of those whom special bonds of comradeship and affection bound to him. He never forgot the fact that two of his boys had saved his life by carrying him off Shiloh field. One of these comrades says: — "One July evening while lying on the hard floor of a rough hospital in Marietta, Ga., sick and weak from my wound, just as the twilight deepened, Lieutenant Davis came and knelt by my side. He took me by the hand and with kindly smile and cordial greeting tried to comfort and cheer me in my loneliness. He remained chatting with me until quite dark. How in the world he ever found me there I will not attempt to solve, but find me he did, and the pleasure of that meeting lingers as a fragrant memory. Finally, he said, 'Well, Milo, I must be going now; keep up a good heart and don't give up.' Then grasping my hand, he said, 'Good-bye,' and was gone. After he had gone, I got a soldier to bring me a light to see what he had pressed into my hand. It was a ten dollar greenback."

Chapter VII

THE BOY COLONEL

DURING July and August, Sherman's army closed in upon Atlanta, steadily tightening its cordon of entrenchments around the doomed city. General Hood, now in command of the defending forces, precipitated a series of furious battles in his effort to drive off the invading army, which put nearly half his men out of action. He hurled his worn-out forces in solid masses against the strong Federal entrenchments with the result that Altanta soon fell into the hands of Sherman.

From August 11th to 19th, the boys of the Fifty-second were in the front line of earthworks, within a few hundred yards of the Confederate entrenchments. The men were obliged to sleep and eat and remain constantly in the trenches, under a continuous fire. No one could go to the front or the rear without endangering his life, for the rebel sharp-shooters made a practice of picking off every Union soldier whose head appeared within a radius of a mile. The strain was fearful. "We had difficulty in pitching our headquarters tents where they would not be shelled, and I worked at my desk with shells occasionally flying over my head and bursting uncommonly near. I made a practice of going out to the front line every afternoon to visit my company. On those walks if I kept in the open, the bullets would soon 'zip, zip' around my head: I had to walk under cover of bushes to be at all safe."

However, incidents in lighter vein served to relieve the strain that pressed men's nerves to the breaking point. "One day as I was riding during a furious cannonade in the rear of our division, carrying a despatch across a long

slope, a darky suddenly appeared, coming from the front on the keen run. He passed me and ran on, as for life. Soon I saw that a nearly spent cannon ball was rolling after him, bounding along down the decline. The negro would glance over his shoulder at the oncoming ball and then push on. I watched them till both were out of sight."

Lieutenant Davis was absent from the Third Division on July 20th in the battle of Atlanta, in which the Army of the Tennessee lost its beloved commander, General McPherson. His pride in the brilliant part played by his command could not compensate for the chagrin of being out of such a fight. Kingston, Ga., July 26th. "Dear Sister: — There has been a great fight in which General McPherson was killed. The two divisions of our corps lost 1,140 men killed and wounded. I can't understand why I was taken away from the company. I don't know but I was making an idol of it. I wanted so much to be with it if we were in battle, to care for the boys and look after a good many of the little things for the wounded and dying that, I fear, no one else will think of. It is one of the darkest Providences I ever experienced, but I suppose it is for the best in some way."

One of the compensations of life at division headquarters was the privilege which he often enjoyed of attending the Sabbath services at the headquarters of General Howard, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Tennessee. A military band was usually in attendance, and the quiet, reverent attention of the officers and men and the spirit of the whole service was a genuine inspiration.

On September first General Hood evacuated Atlanta. The Third Division was ordered to intercept the retreating enemy, but they had escaped, and the tired troops marched to Eastport, Ga. Here while the men of the line rested, the Assistant Commissary of Musters was extremely busy, working far into the night. It was here that he was ap-

pointed Assistant Commissary of Musters for the Sixteenth Army Corps, and here, with the pressure of the papers of fifty regiments passing through his office, added to the many preceding months of strain upon his writing arm, that his hand-writing broke down into the almost illegible scrawl that became the despair of his friends.

On the first of October, his division was assigned to the Fifteenth Corps and was sent to Rome, Ga., to protect the line of railroad in Sherman's rear. He wrote to his sister: — "I have been trying to get back to my company for the last week but have been checkmated at every move. They tell me that they have too much confidence in my abilities to relieve me. Very flattering, but rather an unsatisfactory way to be rewarded for doing your duty."

After the disastrous repulse of General French at Allatoona Pass, Hood withdrew to the West and for a month the two armies lay facing each other, Sherman watching Hood and wondering what he would do. "Sherman remarked at our headquarters one day, that if General Johnston were in command of the army he should know what to expect, but that Hood was such a d——n fool that he didn't know what he would do. Sherman wanted him to be fool enough to cross the Tennessee River, which he did, thus allowing Sherman to carry out his 'March to the Sea,' which burst the shell of the Confederacy and was the beginning of the end. Sherman despatched one corps to Nashville, put General Thomas in command there and at once made preparations for the celebrated march."

The first three years of service of the veterans of the Fifty-second Illinois were now completed, and the men were entitled to reorganize under officers of their own selection. In the elections held by the reinlisted men, Lieutenant Davis was elected Captain of Company I. Among an old file of army records, the writer found a manuscript yellow with age. No mention of this paper is made in Colonel Davis'

full record of the war, no mention, so far as I have been able to discover, was ever made to his friends.

" *Camp of the 52nd Ill. Vol. Inf.*

Lieut. J. D. Davis,
Co. I, 52nd Infantry, Vol.
Lieutenant: —

Our term of service having nearly expired, and the time having arrived when we as fellow soldiers who have fought our country's battles side by side, must part, we the undersigned commissioned officers of the Fifty-second Illinois Volunteer Infantry, desire to express our admiration of you for your many brave deeds and gallant acts in defense of your country's honor.

On the battle field you have proved yourself to be a brave and gallant officer, fully competent to command under any and all circumstances.

In camp and on the march you have been kind, courteous and cheerful, and through all the long and tedious campaigns through which we have passed, you have performed your duties promptly and manfully. And in the parting with you we part with one of our country's bravest sons and noblest defenders."

Signed by nineteen of the commissioned officers of his regiment, many of whom were aware of the coming promotion which was to be at their own expense, this bears witness to the admiration which his fellow-officers held for one of their number who was destined for the highest position that the command could bestow.

October 17th the new company officers met to elect the field officers of the regiment. A committee had previously called upon Captain Davis with the request that he should promise to accept the position of commander of the regiment. He replied that he was not worthy of the office

and would have to decline. On a second call the committee reported that a majority wished his appointment and that they insisted upon his acceptance. He finally said that if a unanimous wish was expressed he would consider it. In the first ballot Captain Davis received a majority of votes and after a few more ballots, he was unanimously elected Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. The Fifty-Second was so depleted in numbers that it could not meet the requirements in qualifying for a Colonel, and was commanded to the end of the war by its Lieutenant-Colonel, who received his brevet, as Colonel of Volunteers, just before being mustered out of the army.

There were two factors that determined the choice of the veterans of the Fifty-second Illinois of their new commander. The first was the personal affection which existed in the ranks for him. This was a power more potent than discipline to impel the men of his line. But in addition to this personal relationship, the conviction of his military ability was deep-seated in the regiment. The various promotions which had proved him in a wide range of service were common talk among the men. Though they recalled the manner in which the colors had been carried at Shiloh, every veteran knew that courage was not the first quality of a superior officer. They remembered that after his first year of military experience he had made his company the most efficient unit in the crack regiment of the brigade. They had seen General Sweeny pass several ranking officers to put upon the second lieutenant the inspection and standardization of a whole division, a post usually filled by a West Pointer. Again, when the exacting requirements of the Division Muster Office had put two incumbents out of commission, they had been called upon to give up this same Lieutenant to bring order out of confusion. Finally, the commander of the Sixteenth Army Corps had requested the War Department to ap-

point Lieutenant Davis as Assistant Commissary of Musters for the fifty regiments of his corps. Now that the time had come when a commander was to be elected from their own number, the veterans of the Fifty-second chose the man who knew more about the art of war than any other in the regiment. A comrade expressed the general opinion regarding him, "After he took command there was a feeling of quiet confidence on our leader. He was safe and sane and we knew we would be well looked after."

In letters to his father and sister he breaks through the customary reserve and shows some of the inner emotion that came with the honor that had been conferred upon him. "Rome, Ga., Oct. 23rd. Dear Father and Sister:— I am feeling lonely tonight and I want to write. It being Sunday I have but little to do and time to think. Then, too, Colonel Bowen, Captain Thompson and five other officers and forty-four men start for home in the morning, and this makes me think of home. If I could start home tomorrow, feeling that my country needed my services no longer, I should be happier than I ever was in my life. But I cannot feel so, for here is a company of re-enlisted veterans and recruits, the largest in the regiment, who came into the service with the express understanding that I should stay with them. The other day I was unanimously elected captain, and now the whole regiment has spoken that they want me for commander. I feel that I can do more good as a patriot and Christian here, even though only a few months of life is given me, than I could in many years in civil life. God seems to be leading me in this path and He will do all things well. It is lonely to think of you, but in such a gigantic struggle as the present, the welfare of unborn millions demands that we all make sacrifices. It is not alone those who go to battle who are called to suffer; there are hundreds of thousands of wounded in our land who never heard the shrieking

missiles of death. This thought is worth more than all the world to me, — that we are only on a pilgrimage here, and are all to meet, as I trust, in a common home. Without this to cheer me, life would be an aimless, animal existence, and the future a dread leap into the dark. I hope you will both be courageous and be glad of the privilege of suffering for our common cause. . . . For two weeks I have worked from sunrise until ten o'clock at night in my office, except when walking back and forth to meals. It is only by persistent exertion that I can keep business away on Sunday. I am trying every day to be relieved, but when I take command of the regiment it will mean heavy toil again, since only two old officers remain and the new ones must all be broken in. But you know I always loved to work and am happier when busy than in any other way. If any of the discharged boys of Company I call to see you, I can assure you that they are every one, in my estimation, worthy of more consideration than a king."

He now made application to be relieved of his commissary duties, and, on Oct. 27th, took command of his company and marched with it through Georgia and South Carolina. His commission as Lieutenant-Colonel was dated October 24th, 1864, but on that very day communication with the North was broken to be closed for six weeks, and it did not reach him until December 24th, when he took command of the regiment and rode at its head into Savannah. His clerk, W. H. Kemp, in writing of the new Lieutenant-Colonel, says "The new honor seemed embarrassing to the Colonel, and when for the first time he gave the command, 'Attention,' to the long line of veterans before him, his voice trembled. From this time until the regiment was finally mustered out, the following July, he was personally in command of the regiment, and I believe he left it with the good will of every officer and man under his command."

At this time Colonel Davis was twenty-six years of age. As the youngest regimental commander in the Fifteenth Corps and because of his unusual series of promotions he was popularly called "The Boy Colonel" throughout the division. His youth was further emphasized by his smooth shaven face, at a time when every officer from general to corporal was entitled to a full beard. "The most remarkable thing I remember about him," said a comrade, "was his bright and continual smile and clear, brilliant eyes, which seemed surcharged with an intensity of fire; the eyes revealed his power. He could be stern enough when occasion demanded, but his self-control, expressed in that even, genial, kindly manner which nothing seemed to ruffle, must have been very great. He had very little patience with men who would shirk or neglect their duties, but he was always glad to reward a good soldier or help those who were unfortunate. I was closely connected with him on his staff at headquarters, and his large, generous heart and sympathy for the boys often attracted my attention. Never did one of them come to him for aid or for special privilege that he did not grant it if in his power to do so."

On arrival in Savannah the Fifty-second was detailed for guard duty. The line officers were insufficient to command the companies, some of which were receiving their orders from sergeants; the quartermaster's commission did not come for several months and in the interim the new colonel had to be responsible for all the property in the regiment. His officers, nearly all promoted from the ranks, were without experience, and the task of supervision and of breaking in his raw staff, at the same time keeping up the efficiency and discipline of the regiment, taxed all of his resources. "My headquarters office was in a building fronting the wharf. I shall never forget the first Sabbath morning after we entered the city, how heavenly the strains of 'From Greenland's icy mountains' sounded, as

played from the steps of the adjoining Seamen's Home by a full brass band. The field and staff officers of my regiment had our rooms in the house of a blockade runner, then absent from home. The wife and daughters would sing 'Dixie,' over our heads, while we ate our meals in the basement. I well remember the oysters we had here, roasted on the shell, — a feast after the march to the sea."

His letters abound in references to the contraband negroes that poured into the Union lines; the little woolly-heads toddling along on foot all day, keeping up with the "Mammy," carrying the family possessions in an army blanket, while the father marched, a free man, in one of Uncle Sam's black regiments, of which there were two in the division. While Lieutenant-Colonel he became interested in the black cooks of the regiment. Some of them asked to be taught to read, and he took pains to send to Chicago for primers and organized a reading class for them. The thought of missionary service was in his mind, and though he eventually entered another home missionary field, his interest and belief in the black citizens of America, whom he had fought to free, remained strong to the end of his life.

In the absence of a regularly appointed chaplain, the colonel himself occasionally took his place and led divine service. He secured Rev. G. W. Wainright, of Dundee, as chaplain of the regiment for the last six months of its service. Standing out clear-cut in the memory of his surviving comrades is the picture of the old company prayer-meeting which he organized and helped to make an uplifting influence in the lives of his men. "A comrade came to my quarters and asked me to go with him to a prayer-meeting held in a log house, a little way from camp. I gladly went. Colonel Davis was leader. He stood in one corner of the room with a tallow candle in his hand, while he read to us out of his Bible or led the singing. There

were no seats. We all had to stand up and when we knelt for prayer we were packed like sardines in a box. I was a boy of sixteen and a Christian, and Colonel Davis' talk that night and his conduct in his intercourse with his men impressed me with the reality of his religion. As Lieutenant I have seen him talking to his company boys at roll call about giving their hearts to Jesus Christ and being prepared to die if need be."

The intimate relation that he had borne to his company as its commander, was now, in a measure, duplicated with his regiment. He toiled with them in the building of entrenchments, he assisted worn-out men with his own mount; he made it a point to call each day on every sick man in his command; in every possible way he looked out for the comfort of the boys, allowing them special facilities for forage and remitting needless red tape. Knowing the dislike of his men for the new regulation forage cap, he managed to have them assigned the felt slouch hat, so dear to the soldier in rain or sun or cold wind. He safeguarded the mails for his regiment, and what was unusual in the army, he cared for the wages of many of the boys. There were times when his saddle-bags contained hundreds of dollars belonging to his men, with whom he kept an informal bank account. Others entrusted him with their wills, which he filed away with the papers of the regiment. He was often the first to hear of wounded men, and to attend them, and not infrequently he performed the last burial service for them. Though commander of the regiment, he was still "one of the boys" on every occasion where discipline did not demand the dignity due his rank. It is no wonder that his men loved him, that they would do anything for him, and that they still, after the flight of fifty years, speak of their old Colonel with tender regard and admiration.

The campaign through South Carolina was much harder

than the March to the Sea. "The swamps were worse and we had to march beside the division trains and help them through. It is safe to say that half the distance that the army travelled on all the different roads had to be corduroyed. This was done with rails, when they were near, and later with pine logs. Each division had to put in a new corduroy as it came up, since the 300 wagons of one division would sink the rails out of sight. There is no bottom to this country. Sherman never reports that the roads are impassable on account of the rain, but marches right on, piling log after log in the mire, until it will hold up his train. We were generally ordered to be ready to march at daylight, and were aroused two hours earlier, with a hasty breakfast of coffee and hardtack, then pack and start on, marching slowly beside the trains, building roads, wading in water freezing cold, up to our knees, sometimes to the hips, stopping for no dinner, but a hardtack or two from our haversacks, and getting into camp anywhere from sundown to ten o'clock, and occasionally not till two or three in the morning. After getting settled in camp, it was my practice to make the rounds of the regiment and see if anyone was sick and if the companies had anything to eat; if not, get them some rations, when possible, and then at eight, ten or twelve o'clock eat the only substantial meal of the day, and lie down for a few hours of sleep on the cold ground, sometimes on pine boughs and sometimes on rails. Many a night have I lain on four rails, the ends laid up two feet high, two slim rails in the center, and two stouter ones on the sides, with my haversack for a pillow, a rubber blanket thrown over me and the rain pouring down all night.

"The negroes of Columbia, S. C., were lined up on each side of the road leading into the city, all shades, ages and conditions, but all wild with joy. They danced, shouted and embraced, some rolling over and over in their wild joy.

They gathered around me as I rode at the head of my regiment, one or two holding onto each hand and each leg, shaking and pulling as I went. They cried, 'Bress de Lor'! Bress de Lor'! Fader Lincum cum, Bress de Lor'! Cotch de debil in his den, dribe him out!' etc.' One old woman threw up her arms and cried, 'Oh, you is all my folks; you whip de debil in his den and follow him up!'"

North Carolina brought fewer swamps, but proximity to the retreating enemy with forced marches and constant entrenching. "The night of the 15th of March, we were ordered to wade across the Black River to support a regiment which had been thrown across and had been attacked by the enemy. I dismounted and waded in at the head of my regiment. When we had gone a hundred yards into the water up to our waists, we were ordered to halt, and there we stood, two companies, in the cold, running stream, for half an hour, until some of the men had to be carried out with cramps, and then we were ordered back to camp.

"March 19th, my regiment was ordered to take an advanced position between our army and the enemy, who were in force. We waded a creek and guarded a bridge till morning. We spent the night in building breastworks and early the next morning, without breakfast, marched on rapidly to overtake the division. The first five miles it was very hard to keep the tired men closed up, but soon they heard the booming of cannon in the front, and in a moment were all closed up; there was no more lagging; we marched the ten miles in two hours and a half and when we had taken position in line, the men broke ranks with a cheer, ran to the fences and did not rest till a line of breastworks was built, but the Battle of Bentonville was over and with it the War.

"At Raleigh, N. C., the regiments were marched in review around the capitol square. The Fifty-second presented a forlorn appearance, in the last stages of tattered

uniforms. I had ordered a new suit of field officer's clothes from the North, months before, but they never reached me. . . . One of my men whittled two leaves from two silver quarters, which I sewed on my blouse and wore that. An officer in command of his company on this review wore a crownless hat, with his hair waving through the top. I had been given a pair of white kid gloves, said to have been the wedding gloves of a South Carolina congressman. I put them on for this review, but the thread gave way so that my fingers were all out before the afternoon was over. This was the extent of my participation in any plunder."

Then came in swift succession during those fateful spring days, the news of the surrender of Lee, the assassination of Lincoln and the capitulation of Johnson's army and, at last, the final march toward Washington. At the Grand Review in Washington, Colonel Davis rode at the head of his regiment up Pennsylvania Ave. The officers and men were the recipients of prolonged ovations and showers of garlands from admiring friends who had come from all parts of the North to welcome them home. He wrote to his sister, on May 27th, from Camp Washington: — "The Review was a grand affair. The streets were crowded with citizens. Pennsylvania Ave. was densely packed and every door and window and housetop crowded, for nearly two miles. The regiment acquitted itself nobly. You can judge that I am not growing handsome very fast when I tell you that my friends say that I was the only one of nearly fifty regimental commanders of our corps whom the ladies did not present with a bouquet. I had told my men to look square to the front, and as I was riding where they could all see me, I set them the example, and I presume the fair ones had little opportunity to get my attention as I passed."

On June first the regiment was transferred to Smithton, Ky., where the order came to proceed to Chicago to be

mustered out. "I could not sleep that night. I lay on my cot thinking over all the experiences of the four years, the dangers through which we had passed, the many who had fallen by the way and could not be welcomed home, and, especially, that now I was free to carry out the great purpose of my life."

At Smithton, Ky., Colonel Davis bade farewell to his men. As the regiment of veterans was drawn up in line of battle for the last time, he addressed them in the following words: —

"Officers and men of the Fifty-second: — The day for which we have hoped and wished and prayed for four years has arrived. Our country saved, our work as soldiers is done, and we gladly return to our homes and our friends. We will not say 'good-bye.' We leave an avocation which has been endurable only because it was necessary. We separate as soldiers to meet and mingle and labor together as citizens, and not less I trust for our country than before. Allow me to say to you one and all, that for the prompt, efficient and faithful manner in which you have performed every duty, however arduous or odious, that has been imposed upon you, for the kind, brotherly feeling, affection, even, that you have maintained among yourselves, and especially for the uniform respect and attention you have always shown me, and for the universal regard for every wish, that I have expressed, since I have had the honor to command the regiment, I can never repay you; I can but thank you. I trust that the satisfaction that always attends duty well done, the welcome plaudits of our noble country, and the approving smile of God, who has preserved us all to see this happy day, will repay you. Let one and all enter our new spheres of action as citizens with all the alacrity and youthful vigor that we possess. Choose honorable pursuits. Set your mark high, and may you come as near perfection as citizens as you have while soldiers.

My heart's best wishes and prayers will follow you. I shall always be glad to meet you and to hear of your welfare."

A few days before leaving Smithton for Chicago, the officers of the regiment gathered informally in their colonel's tent and presented him with a beautiful Howard watch and chain. Upon the key was engraved the corps badge, a cartridge box with the motto "Forty rounds." It was a watch which was to be his constant companion for forty-five years.

Before the regiment was mustered out, Colonel Davis paid nineteen dollars to have the nineteen battles and skirmishes in which the Fifty-second had taken part, inscribed in gilt letters upon the regimental banner. There was barely enough of the tattered flag left to put them on. On July tenth the men of the regiment were paid off and discharged, and the next day he took leave of his officers, and returned to Dundee and to his father's home.

Chapter VIII

STUDENT LIFE AGAIN

COLONEL Davis was twenty-seven years of age when he left the army. His old Beloit classmates had graduated and entered their chosen pursuits. Should he go directly into the ministry, or finish his college course? His friends told him that the four years of army experience more than made up for the two years in college. In this dilemma he wrote to Prof. Bartlett, of Chicago Seminary, who advised him by all means to go back to college. Such advice coming, not from a college professor but from a teacher in the seminary in which he was planning to study, fixed his decision for college. He re-entered Beloit College in September, 1865. He wrote many years later, "I have never ceased to thank God for this decision. That last year in Beloit was a great help to me. Not to speak of the advantage of having a regular college diploma, the renewal of association with the strong men on the Beloit faculty, and the friendships with my class of 1866, was a lifelong blessing."

It was not easy for the soldier, after four years spent in the open, to resume the quiet college life, but his classmates tell how he adapted himself to the new environment. "He was older than the rest of the class and came right from the army to us. How well I remember when the 'Colonel' took his place among us. We were a little awed at first, fearing he might act as a restraint and try to check our flow of spirits. But we soon found that he entered into the class spirit just as though he had not been the commanding officer of a regiment. . . . He was born to lead, but did it in such a quiet way that we did not know he was leading."

The return of Jerome Davis to Beloit made a deep impression upon the students. The fact that a man who had attained such military success should, after four years, hold educational ideals so highly as to finish his course, was a matter of considerable comment. He brought a mature experience and a power of reflection and concentration which showed at once in his college work. He had marked out his life-work, comprehended what it meant, and was chiefly interested in those studies which would prepare him for it. He was especially strong in debate and excelled as a parliamentarian. "As President of the Delian Society he once led a great parliamentary fight. I was the leader of the opposing faction which resorted to every possible tactics to harass him. Davis kept cool and not once lost his head, and proved himself a masterly presiding officer."

Dr. Arthur H. Smith, of China, a member of the class of '67, says: — "Under the loose practice of his predecessors, the parliamentary meetings had degenerated into free and easy palavers, without formalities of any kind. But Davis had found a rule that an intending speaker must address the chair, and must be recognized, and that he must talk to the motion. An irrepressible Delian would jump up and begin an excited harangue, to be interrupted by the stentorian tones of the Lieutenant-Colonel, shouting, 'The gentleman is out of order.' With a puzzled look, the orator would begin again, with 'Mr. President, I wish to say,' — 'The gentleman is out of order,' thundered the presiding officer, and upon being appealed to as to why out of order, the speaker would be informed that he must await recognition, after addressing the chair. After some weeks of this a student who was trying to give, in class, a point in International Law, recited instead a rule of Cushing's Manual. Probably that small volume had never before been so thoroughly mastered in Beloit."

During his last year at Beloit he formed a friendship with a classmate, D. D. Hill, which exerted a strong influence upon him. "Our class had been called 'a little boy's class,' but Davis and Hill, who had also been a soldier, brought very strong manhood into it. Their friendship was like that between Achilles and Patroclus. There was a complete contrast between them. Hill was combative, critical, seeking the light, charging here and there, ready to challenge anybody and anything that did not agree with him. They were in the habit of debating everything, and we would hear Hill's deep voice, bellowing with excitement, while Davis' calm, thin voice would respond. Hill had physical strength, immense power of emotion, gifts of oratory, a great cerebellum; Colonel Davis had a great development of the mental and the moral. Hill was constantly bucking against college regulations; Davis accepted them as army discipline. He was a clear, convincing, but not a moving, persuasive speaker, rather slow in expressing himself, but every word counted and had its weight."

Colonel Davis felt, what his classmates scarcely realized, the great handicap which he was under in having postponed his professional preparation. It was this consciousness, with the power of using every available moment, that enabled him to finish the work of the last two years of his college course in one, and to maintain a high standard. His roommate says of him, "He saved every minute. He suggested, and I agreed to it, that we would not talk to each other, or even speak to each other, except for fifteen minutes after supper." He saved from his officer's salary funds ample to enable him to complete his education, so that every energy could now be applied to his studies. The army training enabled him to maintain a self-imposed discipline that was unusual among college boys. It enabled him, further, to accomplish a large amount of auxil-

iary reading: D'Aubigne's "Reformation," Hopkins' "History of the Puritans in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," Bungener's "The Preacher and the King," "The Priest and the Huguenot," "Voltaire and His Times." The lives of Pym, Eliot, and John Hampden, Palfrey's "History of New England," and Irving's "Life of Washington" were among the books which he read during his last year at Beloit.

Life at Beloit, in the sixties, had its lighter side. Baseball and football were played regularly on the campus, with large numbers of students participating. Those were the days of old-fashioned football, when the whole school occasionally took part and kicked the ball and each other's shins, without much attention to rules. Several Beloit men of that period testify to the hard football playing of the colonel. "When he had time to play he did it with the same energy that he applied to his studies. Tom Chamberlin and Jerome Davis were the two best football players in college; when either pair of long legs got started down the field after the ball, it was usually hopeless to catch them. He was a good captain to plan movements and always showed the same even temper and disposition."

He was a congenial spirit at class gatherings: always ready for a joke; approachable and genial, but without the boyish tricks and tomfoolery of the average student." He felt out of place in general society, and was often at a loss with ladies and found it difficult to enter into social small talk. He was essentially a man's man. He knew how to handle men, and had a quiet air of self-confidence with them that was born of long training. He was too busy while in college to use these qualities of leadership in any of the activities that are dear to college men, except as they lay in the line of his preparation, as in the Literary Society. "One evening a mock court was held in the rooms of two of his classmates. Davis was appointed judge,

Rose the offender, Bascom prosecuting attorney, and I, counsel for the defendant. The fun was fast and furious, and I can recall Lewis and Fitch rolling on the floor too convulsed to hold themselves up. Davis' serio-comic speeches were one of the features of the evening."

He had come back from the Army a broader man than when he had entered Beloit as a Freshman. A college friend, now practicing law in Washington, D. C., tells the following story: "One day in front of the old Middle College, a prospective theologue had sharply called down Sam ——, for what he considered useless profanity. Sam, who had some very positive notions of his own, not acquired around Beloit College, joined in a sharp argument as to the justification of profanity. Just then Colonel Davis came walking by, with his dignified military tread, and Sam said, 'Now, there comes Colonel Davis. He has some sense and we will leave it to him.' The prospective theologue considered his case as good as won and gladly consented. Davis halted and Sam stated his case, and said:—'Colonel, we have agreed to leave it to you to decide whether profanity is ever necessary.' The Colonel thought a moment, and then, much to our surprise, said:—'Yes, I think it is. I have seen a ten mule team hitched to an army wagon, stuck in the mud in Mississippi, and nothing could move it till a man who could yell and use the whip and a liberal amount of profanity, all at the same time, got into the saddle on the wheel mule, and they pulled that wagon out of the mud-hole as if they had been shot out of a gun.' That incident increased my respect for Jerome Davis and I have always thought that if he had become a judge, instead of a missionary, he could have done what so few judges are able to do, namely, decide a case as he considered right, irrespective of his prejudices."

A lower classman wrote of him, "In my mind the college fell naturally into three parts:—the faculty, the students,

and Colonel Davis: not because he separated himself or was uncompanionable, but because, at the time, this seemed the natural analysis. . . . His face in conversation was expressive. Davis was always 'all there.' If he gave you an opinion, it was not only an opinion, it was a conviction. . . . His voice suited the man, for it conveyed emphasis, and yet was sympathetic and invited confidence. Though he was only one year ahead of me in college, I would rather have said or done foolish things in the presence of one of the professors, than before him."

His religious life had shared in the ripening process which his whole character had passed through. Every one knew him to be a religious man, but his religion was of that fundamental kind that pervades the whole personality as its natural expression. The weekly class prayer-meeting, held in rotation in the students' rooms, was a source of fellowship and help to most of the men of '66. He found great satisfaction in these gatherings. Rev. James D. Eaton, D.D. writes: — "At daily prayers in the old chapel he sat in the front row, and so when the 'amen' had been spoken, he was among the first to march down the center aisle, and his was the inspiring face upon which my freshman eyes gazed almost every day. He wore as did Hill and many others, the long, blue overcoat, drawn upon leaving the army, and he usually wore it unbuttoned, and walked erect and with military bearing to and from his classes, — every inch a soldier. In all of the religious meetings of the college, he was a helpful leader, and he was a positive force in maintaining a high spiritual tone and an earnest purpose of life in the student body. He made all of us his debtors, to an extent which we did not fully appreciate at the time, but which we realize more keenly with the passing of the years."

In his religious life he was self-controlled, and took up no duties which in any way would interfere with the accom-

plishment of the finest preparation that Beloit could give him for his future work.

After graduating as salutatorian of his class he spent the summer vacation in Dundee. It was the first rest that he had enjoyed since his army furlough, four years before. While at home he wrote to his class: — "Briefly known, but much loved Classmates: — I have just received your letter and although I can't add much wit or life to it, I will not detain it. It finds my vacation two-thirds gone. It has passed rapidly. I work half a day and read and visit the other half. A few days more will find me conning Hebrew in Chicago. I don't think I appreciate my vacation as much as some of the class. I had so long a one in the army that I am ready to enjoy study again already. Perhaps, if I had not studied calculus so long ago I could make something of Brown's letter. I surrender! Butler's Analogy is easy in comparison. Fred says he has been reading the latter; I have just read the introduction by Barnes, and like it. My experience is the reverse of Bascom's; not that I have grown bigger, but older. I am not 'young folks' here any more. The 'juveniles' are the children of my old scholars. I know less than half of the people I meet at sociables and am ruled out at the young folk's parties: — a confirmed 'old bach,' you see. I never expect to find any parties quite as pleasant as ours were. I look back to them as among the pleasantest reminiscences of my last year at college. Then I think our class prayer-meetings will never be realized so preciously again. With a prayer for our success in life and a perfect reunion when our day's toil is over. I remain, one of the seventeen."

In September, 1866, he entered Chicago Theological Seminary. He took up his theological course with zest. His college friend, Hill, had joined him and they worked through the three year course together, as roommates, with deepening friendship. During his first year in the seminary

he spent his Sabbaths in Sunday School work under the leadership of Major Whipple. In the autumn of 1866, an epidemic of cholera broke out in Chicago, and Davis with several other seminary students volunteered as nurses in the cholera district.

The life at Chicago passed rapidly. The fellowship among the students was strong and that between teachers and pupils unusually helpful. Professor Haven was the teacher who most deeply influenced him. His method of teaching theology was unique and stimulated independent thinking. After stating in his first lecture upon one of the great doctrines of belief, all the objections to the orthodox position, he would close by saying, " Now, young gentlemen, tell me next time how you will answer those objections." Some of the students felt that the objections were unanswerable, but Davis' faith, apparently, never wavered. His roommate said of him, " It was many months before I could accept the doctrine of the Trinity. Colonel Davis used to say, ' You will see it and come around in time,' but he seemed never to have a doubt."

Hill was especially interested in Pastoral Theology and pressed the subject on his roommate's attention to the broadening of his preparation, but the problems of Systematic Theology continued to the end of his course to offer the greatest attraction to him. He was accustomed to beat through a number of possible ways until the final solution was reached, and, then, for every problem, there awaited the daily argument with his enthusiastic roommate. Cause and effect meant much to him and he was ready to accept legitimate conclusions, even if they compelled him to modify beliefs. This ran through his theology all his life and made him a conservative.

A student at Chicago Seminary, who later became one of Dr. Davis' most intimate associates in the work in Japan, was D. C. Greene, who said of him: — " I see him now as

he stood up to recite, — tall, erect, with an unmistakable military bearing, the most noticeable man in our student body. Some of the students were inclined to be narrow in their interests and severe in their judgments, and used to frown on the pranks of the younger men, but Colonel Davis, though with the most ripened experience of any of us, had a strong vein of common sense and good judgment that made him look with leniency upon some things that he himself did not care to do, and saved him from a narrow Puritanism. A group of classmates had gathered one evening in a student's room, in the usual attempt at finally settling every problem relating to the human race. The Roman Catholic Church came under cross-fire. Some said that the church in question was an unmixed evil, and others had doubt as to the final salvation of Roman Catholics. Finally, the Colonel could stand it no longer, and heartily championed the Papal cause, stating it as his conviction that God could use that church to his glory, and that there might be found just as devoted Roman Catholic Christians as Protestant."

Davis always enjoyed a joke upon his roommate. Hill had received a barrel of fine apples from home, and to guard against their too speedy disappearance he waited until a late hour in the night before rolling it up the three flights of stairs to the rooms which he and Davis occupied. All went well until the top landing was almost reached, when, without warning, the head of the barrel burst and the entire contents went rattling and bounding down the dormitory stairs with a noise that brought half the students to their doors to see the fun. Word of the windfall spread so rapidly that, by the time Hill reached the lower hall, he could find scarcely enough apples to fill his pockets.

In the Seminary Davis was not ranked as an easy speaker. His slight hesitancy of manner and speech led some to say: — " Hill and Douglass will make their mark;

Davis will not: he does not know how to use his great abilities." The criticisms of his classmates and, especially, the practical experience of his summer vacations were of great value in developing him.

In the spring of 1867, he applied to the Elgin Association for a license and was assigned to the village of Algonquin, five miles up the river from his home. Here was a small Episcopal Church and defunct organizations of Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists. His task was to reorganize the last named denomination and, if possible, build a church in Algonquin. The only available place for meetings was a room over a blacksmith's shop, for which six months' rent was due. He advanced the money. As the room was only partially seated he bought lumber and made seats. There were no hymn books and he bought these. The preaching was easier than the pastoral work, and he found it especially hard to call on strangers, but he compelled himself to do this and began a systematic visitation of the village. The congregations filled up, the prayer-meetings interested many, and one young man was converted and united with the church. He now determined to try for a church building. Previous efforts had failed at two points: — the division of the people into four denominations and the fact that the Fox River divided the town into two districts, each of which would not concede a church building to the other.

On July first he started a subscription paper, which he circulated himself. Of the $2,100 raised, all but $400 was given by non-church members. He found that the key to his list was a certain deacon who had a reputation for closeness. Several of the citizens, thinking to safeguard themselves, promised to duplicate his gift, and were stunned to hear that the deacon had given $250.00. He next drew plans for a building 32 by 50 ft., with a spire 80 ft. in height, went to Chicago, bought the lumber, shipped it

to Algonquin, piled it on the lot, and let the contract before leaving for the seminary. The church was finished and dedicated late that autumn. The greatest accomplishment of the summer was the uniting of the Christians of the village into fellowship. The Baptists and Methodists united with the Congregationalists in the Sunday School, the prayer-meeting and in the Sabbath services. A religious interest was aroused among many of the young people, several of whom united with the church.

During his second year at the seminary his letters show the reality of his relationship with Christ and the sense of privilege in companionship with Him. "Last night we had a splendid union prayer-meeting of the three seminaries. I have been thinking today of two thoughts presented there: — one, that leading a sinner to Christ brings us nearer to Him than anything else; the other, that we do not need to get hold of Christ so much as that He should get hold of us; take us body and mind, and do with us as he will."

His reading during the middle year at Chicago included Longfellow, Tennyson and Browning, and the lives of John Wesley and George Whitefield. The early life and struggles of Whitefield, with his later success as an evangelist, stirred him. He writes, "He was a genius, and his ability was devoted to Christ. I have not that genius, but oh, I do long for that same devotion which will give me success in proportion to my ability." He was working hard at his homiletics, striving to improve his style of writing and delivery. With this in view he studied the wide range of preachers and preaching that Chicago pulpits offered.

Through the summer of 1867, he supplied the Congregational Church at Turner Junction, near Chicago. He took up his work there on the first of May, but was too tired to do his best. The long strain of military and student life, with the tremendous pace of work that he had maintained, had told on his vitality, and he needed a rest.

He continued at Turner Junction until July, when, acting on the advice of a Chicago specialist, he took a month's tour of the Great Lakes, which sent him back to his post with new enthusiasm.

One incident of the summer he never tired of relating in after years. He boarded in the home of an old deacon who expected him, as the "parson," to lead the morning worship. After several days of leading the family devotions, Colonel Davis suggested that the old gentleman conduct the morning prayers himself. The deacon's indignation was intense. He turned on the theologue with blazing eyes and an explosive, — "Do you expect me to keep a *dog* and *bark too!!!*"

One pleasant feature of the life at Chicago was a literary society composed of a group of seminary men and of young ladies belonging to the best families in Union Park Church. The students were made welcome in these cultured homes.

Colonel Davis greatly enjoyed these gatherings. But it was not from this group of young people that the summons to surrender reached his heart. That capitulation had already been made to a neighbor and friend of his childhood. Toward the close of the war, Colonel Davis had remarked to his chaplain that he believed he had not yet seen the woman who was to to be his wife. Mr. Wainright gave as his opinion that "the very best living girl" was Miss Sophia Strong, who was a member of his Dundee Church. The subject was dropped, but the mischief had been done, for the thought kept returning through the following year whether he had not better test the judgment of the chaplain, and in the summer after his graduation from Beloit he became engaged to Miss Strong. Sophia Strong was five years younger than Jerome Davis, the daughter of Rev. Ephraim Strong, a Presbyterian minister, of Naperville, Ill., who had died shortly after her birth. She was a first cousin of Dr. Josiah Strong, of New

York, the pioneer in modern social service. Some years after her father's death her mother had married Mr. Alfred Edwards, a merchant of Dundee, in whose home she was reared with her two older sisters. While Colonel Davis was studying in Chicago Seminary, his fiancée taught in the Ladies' Seminary at Rockford, Ill., where she had recently been graduated.

The early part of his senior year in the seminary, Colonel Davis took no outside work, but in the winter of 1868 he supplied the church at Sandwich, Ill., the home of some regimental comrades. In March, the Sandwich Church gave him a call for six months with a view to a permanent pastorate. The church and community were unusually congenial, while the proximity of the town to Chicago and to Dundee were added attractions. Friday afternoons saw him taking the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy train for Sandwich, where he spent two days, returning to the seminary on Monday morning. An ill-timed jump from the train, one Monday morning, as Colonel Davis used to say, may have changed the history of his life. "The C. B. & Q. runs a mile south of our seminary and, by jumping off the train at a point where it usually slowed down to four miles an hour, and walking across to Ashland Boulevard, I could save an hour's time. I had generally done this, but one morning they were running faster than I thought, with the result that my nose was so badly broken that I could not go to Sandwich the next Sabbath, and I got one of my classmates, an able man, to go in my place." This able classmate was none other than his chum, D. D. Hill. Hill's large-hearted geniality and adaptation for pastoral work won the hearts of the congregation, and before the Colonel's nose had healed, the Sandwich Church had reconsidered its call in favor of his friend. It was a delicate situation: Hill was his best friend and though he had considered the call to Sandwich as practically settled, he at

once sent in his resignation. This was a severe blow to Colonel Davis' professional pride, but he spent no time in vain regrets and, immediately after graduation accepted a call to a church in Mineral Point, Wisconsin.

Chapter IX

THE HARDEST FIELD

SHORTLY before graduating from Chicago Theological Seminary, Colonel Davis called upon Secretary J. E. Roy of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and inquired if there was any work for him in the deep interior. Said he, "I want you to give me the hardest field west of the Mississippi River." Dr. Roy was struck both by the unusual request and by Colonel Davis' adaptation for a pioneer field, and mentioned Cheyenne, Wyoming, as a post meeting the requirements. He wrote the same day to Dr. D. B. Coe, general secretary of the society in New York: "April 22, 1869: We have conquered a Colonel. Lt.-Col. J. D. Davis came to me today to inquire if there was any work for him in the Far West. I mentioned Cheyenne. If you want a man for that point, Davis is the one. A Beloit student, he went into the war a private, and came out a Colonel, loved and honored by his men. Returning, he finished his studies at Beloit and has taken his full course here. . . . The qualities exhibited as a soldier, he possesses in his Christian character. He was the man who used his two vacations to bring up the Algonquin and Turner churches so splendidly. He has organizing ability. He is one of the very first in his class for talent; has a fine appearance, about twenty-eight years old and unmarried. You will be safe in giving him a commission at once. A prominent church wants him, but he prefers the interior."

During his third week of service at Mineral Point, while considering the invitation of that church to become its pastor, a letter from the Home Missionary Society arrived

which put the question of Cheyenne before him. A frontier field like Wyoming offered exactly the conditions which appealed to him and it did not take long to decide in favor of the call. It was another matter, however, to ask a woman, reared as delicately as Miss Strong had been, to share a pioneer life with him. Mrs. Edwards had already given one daughter to Micronesia, and felt a natural reluctance to her youngest daughter's settling so far from home. A compromise was finally arranged, by which it was settled that Colonel Davis should enter the new field alone, thoroughly investigate it and, if it seemed suitable as a permanent location, return for his bride.

He wished to be ordained before going to Cheyenne, in order to be able, from the start, to exercise the full duties of the ministry. It was a mutual joy that his friend Hill could receive ordination with him. The council was appointed for the first Sabbath in June, in the Dundee Church, with Dr. J. E. Roy officiating.

Colonel Davis reached his new field on the 4th of June, 1869. Cheyenne, at this time, was the terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad, and was little more than a great construction camp. The railroad shops, Fort Russell, a United States Army post, and the capital of the Territory had all been located at Cheyenne and assured a future to the town. It was already an important supply point for the whole region. Vice of every kind flourished. Sixty saloons, besides gambling houses and dance halls, the precursors of western civilization, were the lodestones which drew the men of the plains and mountains to the new city. There were a few decent men in the place, but it doubtless merited its nickname, "Hell on Wheels." A few miles before reaching his destination, Colonel Davis read the following advertisement in the Cheyenne daily paper; "I will fight my dog, 'Jerry,' vs. the wildcat, next Sunday afternoon, at two o'clock, in the Theatre. Admission: one

dollar." Within two weeks he was holding Sunday evening services in this theatre.

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists of the town had united in calling him to form a Congregational Church. In view of this united action he was not prepared to find that the Presbyterian Home Missionary Society had also sent their agent to Cheyenne and had taken steps toward organizing a Presbyterian Church. The Christians of the little community were divided; some, attracted by the Presbyterian promise of a church edifice, had given up the union plan, but others remained true to their Congregational friends and pledged their support to Colonel Davis.

It was a crucial problem whether to attempt a parallel organization with a powerful society entering the field, ready to back up its representative with a liberal subsidy. He wrote to Dr. Coe: — "I received my commission this week, started Wednesday and arrived here yesterday afternoon. The Presbyterians are trying to organize. The society offers $5,000.00 for a building. It is a big bait. I am commissioned and ordained to this work and shall hold on if half a dozen will stand by me, provided your society will do so, too. . . . I think there will be room for the two churches here soon. We shall organize, June 13th. . . . It will take, at least, $1,600.00 to support us. . . . I have to pay $14.00 a week for board. I want to be free, head, hands and heart, to work among this people during the first year. I think the people here will, in any event, raise $600.00 and I want to know whether your society will pledge the balance and advise me to remain. If not, please send me a telegram not to organize. Our people here are almost discouraged, and will have to be held up, but I hope that we can yet secure united effort. I shall have no controversy with any one."

Three days later he wrote: — "Everything is working well. The Presbyterians may go on with their building,

but some of them will unite with us. I am finding one or two new Congregationalists every day. We are sure of ten to unite with us next Sabbath. . . . Our people would have given up easily if I had backed off . . . and that is what the Presbyterian Society expected, but I have not thought of it for a moment and now we are gaining heart every day. I have a delightful room, looking out upon Long's Peak, the Rocky Mountains' snowy range and the Black Hills. I took a ride today with Mr. Snow, Gov. Campbell of Wyoming, Judge Howe, Gov. McCook of Colorado, and some ladies. We went about fifteen miles west among the hills, occasionally shooting an antelope."

What the situation at Cheyenne needed in this critical juncture was firm decision and prompt action. At these points the new pastor did not fail. After ten days of intense work and consultation and prayer, the little band of Congregationalists in Cheyenne was welded together and a church organized on June 13th. The following day he wrote: — "Dear Dr. Coe: — God is with us and we have succeeded beyond expectations. I drew up a paper a week ago which virtually organized our church. I signed it myself and as soon as one more signed it we had our church. I kept on praying and working all the week and by Saturday night thirteen had signed the paper. That evening we had a meeting, adopted a constitution, creed and covenant. We elected a deacon, clerk, treasurer and five trustees, consisting of Chief Justice Howe, another prominent business man outside the church and three church members. Yesterday we entered into covenant with each other and with God, eleven joining by letter and two on confession. We were all alone. It is four hundred miles to our nearest neighbor, East, and 1,200 miles to the first church of our order, West; we have five churches over one hundred miles South, only two of them manned, and there is nothing between us and the North Pole. Tonight, we elect sub-

scription and building committees, and proceed at once to secure a place of worship. . . . We are gaining strength every day. It looked very dark when I first came, but now I can see God's hand in the counter movement. If all had gone in with us we should have had trouble sooner or later. Now we have a distinctively Congregational Church and are entirely united. . . ."

Dr. Coe, Secretary of the Congregational Home Missionary Society, was troubled by the Cheyenne situation, and wrote, advising to wait a few weeks before organizing a church. He delayed the answer to the Colonel's report of the situation so long, however, that his advice was too late. Having had no order to the contrary from headquarters, the new pastor had taken the responsibility upon himself. He replied to Dr. Coe, "Your favor in reply to the letter I sent on my arrival here was received the day after we had organized our church, so that it was too late to wait a few weeks. Everything here seemed to indicate that prompt action was best. We are prospering. The community is subscribing toward an edifice and in the meantime we are holding Sabbath evening services in the theatre."

Once that organization had been effected, Colonel Davis' belief in the enterprise and his enthusiasm for its future was very strong. It required no prophet to see that Cheyenne was destined for a future of considerable importance, and it hurt him to have his society take the position that the new church was in the nature of an experiment. "I object to you calling this enterprise 'an experiment.' Are the Union Pacific Railroad, or our denomination or the Gospel experiments? This enterprise will succeed as surely as those things are sure. The work here looks perfectly grand to me. I do not know of a place on this continent where such an important work can be done for Christianity as right here in Cheyenne. I thank God continually that He has honored me by calling me to it."

After organization came church building. He encouraged the building committee by working with a subscription paper himself. He was impatient under a series of delays in getting the committee at work, and his joy when the whole committee were pushing the canvass abreast was great. Three two-hundred dollar pledges and several gifts of one hundred dollars each were made by leading men, including the Governor of the Territory. One thousand five hundred was given by Cheyenne citizens, over half coming from non-Christian men.

He secured the $1,300 still needed, in equal proportions from the Church Building Society and from friends in Chicago, so that the church was built and furnished without a debt. Through General T. A. Dodge, his old division commander, now President of the Union Pacific Railway, not only was a quarter of a block in the finest part of town given as a site, but the lumber for church and parsonage was hauled over the Union Pacific, free of cost.

During ten days in Chicago he secured pledges for $1,000 in lumber, which had to be collected from distant yards, carted to the assembling point and started West. With the money saved from his officer's salary, he bought the lumber for a small house, had it planed and ripped to the right widths for flooring, casing, etc., purchased glazed windows and doors, lathe and pasteboard to use instead of plaster, and tarred pasteboard to keep out the northern blasts.

With the building materials for his new church and house assured, he went to Dundee and, on the 15th of July, was married to Miss Strong in her mother's home. A wedding trip of a month's duration followed, including a voyage around the Great Lakes, four days at Niagara Falls and visits with relatives in Rochester and Brooklyn, N. Y., and in Ohio. Floods in Iowa so delayed the moving of building materials and goods that they had to live for a month,

after reaching Cheyenne, in the home of the Collector of Internal Revenue, whose hospitality saved them serious inconvenience.

Colonel Davis set to work at once to prepare the foundations of the church and parsonage. He borrowed a team and wagon and hauled stone, quarried with his own hands, from the hills. Neighbors told him that no two-story house built of wood could stand against the violent winter gales, but he believed differently. Digging a deep pit at the windward corner of the house, he sunk a pitch-pine tree trunk, a foot in diameter, six feet in the earth, filled it in with concrete and spiked the sill beams of the house to this tree trunk. He laid up the stone foundation, put on the sills, dug the cellar, and had all in readiness for putting the frame together when the lumber finally arrived. The workmen on the church raised the four side bents of the frame, which was the only help he had in building his house, except that which his wife gave him. "She helped me by holding one end of the longer boards, or holding the posts while I nailed them, and later by nailing on the lath inside the house and the pasteboard, etc.; all this, besides doing the cooking and housework." And so it was that the "tenderfoot parson" and his wife built the first two-story frame house in Wyoming, a house so well constructed that, after forty-five years, it still stands as a monument to the resourcefulness and determination of the builder.

The winds were so severe that they were kept awake many a night by the small pebbles blown against the side of the house. Faces had to be covered when facing one of these storms, which would leave a thick coating of dust; but in the midst of these difficulties the minister and his bride worked on.

Shortly after the arrival of the lumber, word came that they must immediately vacate their temporary quarters.

The little wing, 8 x 10 ft., was already enclosed, but the doors and windows were not in and the roof was only half shingled. A furious snowstorm was raging that day, and he had to brush off the snow constantly to see the lines while he finished the roof, sitting on the shingles as he took them out one by one. He nailed up the doors and windows with boards, moved up the few goods from the other house, and they began housekeeping in their tiny room. Several marriages were solemnized in that little room. The parsonage was finished before Christmas. The pastor painted his house white, encircled it with a picket fence, and in the spring went to the hills for cottonwood trees, which he planted in front of both parsonage and church.

Thanksgiving Day overtook them in their narrow quarters. The previous evening a friend called and asked them to step over to the church, whose unfinished interior was well lighted and nearly filled with friends gathered about the work benches, which were loaded with eatables. Before Colonel Davis had recovered from his surprise, one of the trustees presented him with a pocketbook containing $150.00 in the name of the assembled company. Upon the list of presents, which represented nearly every possible commodity for the table, as well as useful articles for the housekeeper, was written the name of nearly every family in town, including Catholics and scores who had no church connections, and many men without families. The next morning, a merchant, who had been out of town the night before, sent his wagon to the parsonage half filled with groceries, a barrel of flour, two bushels of potatoes, etc. No eloquent sermons could account for such a community response, nor was it only that the new parson had visited everybody and tried to speak a sympathetic word to all. When the committee was soliciting gifts, many a rough man had said: — "If it's for that man who is building his own house, I want to give: he's the kind of a parson I believe in."

With the completion of the church building the duties of the pulpit and pastorate assumed definite shape. It was not easy to secure or hold an audience in Cheyenne. A few attended services faithfully, but the bulk of the congregation would change with every new supply of the other pulpits in the town. The Sabbath School thrived, and when, once in two months, the Sabbath School concert was held, the church, which would seat two hundred persons, was packed to the doors. The prayer-meeting was a difficult problem. "At first it was very hard to get anybody to take part. They were all out of the habit of praying or speaking. I determined to get them into it again, and so gave out interesting, practical subjects. After brief opening exercises, I put the subject before them in the form of questions, in a conversational way, bringing a chair down the aisle to sit with the people in one corner of the room. Before they knew it, they became interested, and spoke their views, and offered many brief and touching prayers."

Cheyenne was made up of a motley population. Some were from New England and had a piano in the single room of their home. Some were from the old West, some from the new, while soldiers of fortune from England and Europe were mixed with men from the South, who had lost all in the Civil War. They were alike in one respect only; all had come West to make their fortune, few expecting to build permanent homes. Religion had usually been left behind, and when the pastor tried to talk personally about church membership and the Christian life, he was told again and again, "God hasn't crossed the Missouri River yet." Recklessness, immorality and crime ran rampant through the town. The "badman" type, so familiar during the following decade, was already in evidence. The first eighty men who were buried in the wretched cemetery died with their boots on, and when Colonel Davis arrived in Cheyenne, a self-appointed vigilance committee had left

six ruffians hanging to the telegraph poles. The few decent families in the community were, for along while, afraid to get acquainted with each other, for it was hard to know who were respectable and who were not. Upon the completion of the railroad, the daily transcontinental trains met during the hour of the morning service and greatly interfered with regular church attendance.

Such were the obstacles that the new preacher had to contend with. It was a situation whose handling needed a fearless and practical man. That he was a seasoned veteran soldier was known to everyone and was greatly in his favor, and enabled him to go where many men would have hesitated. "I visited everybody in the town, save the inmates of the houses of prostitution, and called on the keepers of these places and talked plainly with them." His sympathy for these unfortunate women was deep, and several times he was asked to conduct funeral services for them. Mrs. Davis loyally supported her husband in his efforts to make Cheyenne a cleaner city. They offered their home as a refuge for any fallen woman who would come to them in an effort to reform, publishing this invitation, with an appeal to such women, in the daily newspaper.

He interpreted the work of the pastorate in a large way, taking a keen interest in public affairs and in every municipal activity. Whether it was the caring for the sick apple woman at the Cheyenne station, a prayer with the dying cow-boy, shot to death on the main street of the town, the introduction of a system of water-works, the removal of the public cemetery to a better site, or the improvement of the public schools, there was no movement for municipal betterment but aroused his enthusiasm and cooperation. He saw that Cheyenne's future depended upon an adequate water supply, and began a campaign of education, using the press, his pulpit and personal calls

as means of keeping the matter before the attention of the town. The pastor did not stop with argument, but shouldered a shovel and worked with the citizens in the great ditch by which the waters of Crow Creek were finally turned into a natural basin above the town. His pertinent suggestions as to improving the public school system of Laramie County resulted in Governor Campbell's appointing him county superintendent of schools, a position which he held during the last year in Cheyenne.

This was the type of Christianity that the people of the frontier town appreciated more than pulpit power. One of his parishioners wrote many years later: — "He was an interesting speaker, but it was the spirit of service that gave special force to his pulpit efforts and brought people out to see what such a man would have to say." One of his deacons said: — "I never saw a man who worked so hard or who was so deeply in earnest in all he did." After a church excursion, the proceeds of which had purchased a bell for the Congregational Church, the Methodist minister called on Colonel Davis and said, "Now see here, Brother Davis, you have milked this cow long enough. It is time that you stand back and let some of the rest of us have a chance."

In the late spring of 1870, a little son, Jay Doane, came to the parsonage, named after his missionary uncle in Micronesia. Eight months later, after a sickness of two days, they laid him away in the lot beside the church. "This was to us a blessed experience. I had never before realized the meaning of the word, 'blessedness.' The thought that the Heavenly Father loved us so much as to provide a way of salvation for the little ones, and that the same Saviour who took the children in his arms and blessed them, and said, 'of such is the Kingdom of Heaven,' would come now and receive him so that we could be sure that our darling would be cared for and trained far better

than we possibly could; that he was forever safe; these thoughts quite overcame me, as we bowed together the next morning in our family devotions."

During the winter of 1870, an event occurred which was instrumental in his decision to change his field and to preach Christ to those who had never heard of Him. During one of his regular visits at Fort Russell, he learned of an Indian who was under sentence of death for having killed a white man who had attacked his wife. The Post Commandant gave Colonel Davis permission to see the prisoner whenever he wished, and he walked the four miles between Cheyenne and the fort many times to visit the Indian in his cell. "He only knew ten or twelve words of English, but by signs we talked a little, until I finally brought a picture of Christ upon the cross, and with this attempted to make him understand. It was hard to make him realize that he was a sinner. With the engraving I succeeded in making him understand that the Father, the Great Spirit, sent his Son to die for sinners, and that all who would believe on him, repenting of their sins, would go to the home of the Great Spirit. He made a remarkable drawing of the scene of his punishment, himself standing upon the gallows, rope about his neck, with one hand pointing up, while Christ was near upon a cross, and the Great Spirit above."

On the morning of the execution Colonel Davis visited the Indian in his cell and walked with him to the gallows. After the rope had been adjusted about the neck of the condemned man, the pastor stood beside him and made a brief prayer, commending him to the Heavenly Father. The prisoner said a few words in broken English, "Me not afraid to die; me go up," pointing upward with his finger, and the drop fell. This experience of giving the poor Indian a first glimpse of the loving heart of the Great Father increased the latent desire to give his life to the

millions, across the Pacific, who had never heard of Him.

The field of the great West had attracted Colonel Davis as one of immediate and future need. He sent frequent appeals to the Home Missionary Society and to the Congregational constituency to occupy the territory which had barely been entered and which lay open to their hand. After a prophetic statement of the potentialities of the Rocky Mountain region, he closed with a plea for adequate occupation: — "In the army, when a fierce battle is raging at the front, the hospitals are made ready to receive the wounded whom the ambulance trains will soon unload at their doors; they do not wait till the trains arrive. Just so here. We know that millions of sick and sin-deadened souls will soon fill this region. Shall we wait and later on establish churches over the graves of dead souls! Now is the time to possess this land. A greater than Macedonian cry goes up from the vast West. . . . I cannot express the importance of this field. It cannot be told. It can only be felt."

Although this appeal and others of a similar nature were published, a year passed away and nothing was done to occupy the field or to man the churches already organized. The Home Missionary Society was suffering from lack of men and money and could not consider such an extensive program. After its first boom, Cheyenne had entered upon a period of depression. Its decreasing population of some 1,500 people was being served by five fully organized churches and the evils of sectarianism became very apparent and galling to Colonel Davis. He chafed at the overmanning of one point, at the expense of the whole field.

This inability of the Congregational Home Missionary Society to occupy the great West, together with the impelling motive of his life, worked the inevitable; horizons

now receded rapidly before his vision, which became bounded by a new frontier, including an ocean and an even needier field than the Rocky Mountain region in its sweep.

The call of the Far East grew daily more incessant and compelling. He wrote: — "Our work here has degenerated into a sectarian work. One of the four churches will hold all that ever go to church. We ought to either give up the weak hold that we have in this Territory and let the other denominations that are alive work it, or else man these points at once, and put a live agent into the field."

After describing the energetic way in which the other denominations had pushed ahead, he says, "I have watched all this go on for two years and sometimes it seemed as if I should fly to pieces. We cannot recover in twenty years what we have lost in the last two. After all, it is not a question of *who* does the work, so much, if it is *done*. . . . Now I cannot consent to act as agent to go into little towns where there are three or four other churches and organize Congregational churches and then nurse them after they are born. . . . The question is not whether I am to have a hand in moulding this region or Japan. The question is whether I am to stay here where there are two or three other workers, and where one will come to take my place, or whether I shall go to the thirty millions of Japan, where no one will take my place. I prefer the latter and I choose because I believe that Christ chooses for me."

In the spring of 1871, he published in the "Advance" and "Congregationalist" the facts which were attracting him to the foreign field, and invited four other men to consider the same call and thus complete the quota of five missionaries whom the American Board needed for China. He said: — "The field here is overcrowded, as it is all over the West, and in many portions of the East. There is no difficulty in finding men for this work. It is not so with the foreign field. Notwithstanding very strong convic-

tions I should not offer myself to the Board if men were forthcoming. Scarcely any one has responded to the appeals for foreign workers for the last few years. China with nearly half the human race has only one Protestant minister to four millions. Japan has less. The world will not understand it, but I know of only one principle which should guide us: — where will our lives amount for the most for Christ! I am selfish in the matter, as I long to have a hand in laying the foundations of Christianity among those millions. . . . We realize on this great highway of the nations that the world is small and that the race is one."

He sent copies of this letter to most of the pastors of his acquaintance, but without a single favorable response. Prof. S. L. Bartlett of Chicago Seminary was the only friend who encouraged him to go; the rest were not merely indifferent, but adverse. However, the inner conviction remained clear, and, together, Colonel Davis and his wife decided to offer themselves to the American Board for appointment. When it became apparent that no one else would volunteer to go with them to China, the question of the "one for Japan" for whom the Board was calling, came strongly home. He had heard much of the difficulties of the Chinese language, and the report that Japanese was easier seemed a leading toward Japan, for he knew himself to be handicapped in linguistics. And so a request for appointment to Japan, and not China, was sent to the Board rooms in Boston and the appointment was made.

It was hard to leave Cheyenne. Roots had struck in deep. The people felt that they could not give up the pastor who had done so much for church and community. On the other hand it was hard to leave such friends and the first home which they had built together and in which they had toiled, and suffered and rejoiced.

Colonel Davis was anxious regarding the appointment

of his successor, but had the satisfaction of securing Rev. Josiah, now Dr. Josiah, Strong, who was on the field before he left the country. A seminary friend, the late Dr. D. C. Greene, who was already at work under the American Board in Japan, wrote in August, 1871, of his joy at Colonel Davis' decision: "You will find need enough of the Gospel here: a teachable people, a beautiful country, but a government in deadly opposition to Christianity and bound to use all its power in preventing its introduction into the land."

After bidding farewell to the Cheyenne church, Colonel Davis and his wife attended the annual meeting of the American Board in Salem, Mass. Here, he first met Joseph Neesima, who had just entered Andover Seminary. "He elbowed his way through the crowd and asked if we were going to Japan, and then grasped my hand and with tears in his eyes told how glad he was to meet me, and that he was also going back before many years to work for Christ."

There was much to discourage in the outlook for Japan, just then. The reaction, which caused the second persecution of the Catholic Christians in Nagasaki, and the arrest of Mr. O. H. Gulick's teacher, Ichikawa, in Kobe, had come, and it seemed doubtful whether they would be allowed to work in Japan. However, he had been led to apply for Japan, and had been appointed to that field, and he replied to Dr. L. H. Gulick's proposal that he be transferred to his new field in Spain, that he would go on to Japan and remain there if allowed to land, and if not allowed to land, he would then consider some other field.

Chapter X

FIRST YEARS IN JAPAN

MR. and Mrs. Davis sailed from San Francisco on November first, 1871. In those days there was but one line of passenger steamers from the Pacific coast to the Far East, with one boat a month. The "America," a large, side-wheel steamer, was slow and unsteady, and thoroughly initiated the new sailors into the mysteries of sea sickness. Among the fifty passengers, were Mr. and Mrs. Thompson of China, Mr. and Mrs. Bradley, of Siam, and Mr. Mackay, en route to Formosa. On a lovely autumn morning they awoke in Yodo Bay, the constraint and rigors of the twenty-six days' passage behind, a new world before.

"Who can describe the first impressions which the old empire makes upon one who has never before looked out of the new America. The bold headlands of its rocky coast, its wave-beaten islets, its precipitous shores, deeply indented with gulfs and bays, its scudding fleets of white-winged fishing boats, its sharp peaks and steep-terraced valleys and, over all, the great, white cone of sacred 'Fuji,' rising sheer from the waters of Sagami Bay, all make an abiding impression which no later view can efface. I shall never forget the first walk in Yokohama from the fort opposite the harbor, around through the narrow streets back to the landing. Every utensil, every building and every human being was a novelty. I lived a week in a few hours."

On the first of December they reached Kobe, were given a hearty welcome by Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Greene and Mr. and Mrs. O. H. Gulick, the missionaries of the American Board already on the field, and in ten days were settled in their own rented house.

Although Protestant missionaries had been in the empire for twelve years, slow progress had as yet been made. The imperial edict boards against Christianity were still standing, as they had stood for 275 years, making it a capital offence to accept Christianity. The persecution of the Catholic Christians in Nagasaki went steadily on. No man dared openly study the prescribed religion, and gatherings for preaching or teaching could be held only in private residences and involved dangers that few cared to face.

The previous July, Mr. Gulick's teacher, Mr. Yeinosuke Ichikawa, with his wife, was seized and imprisoned for having read a pen-made copy of the Gospel of Mark. Soon after reaching Kobe, Mr. Davis called with Mr. Greene upon Governor Kanda, of Hyogo Prefecture, on behalf of the prisoners. The Governor told them that if Mr. Ichikawa had received baptism there was no hope of saving his life, but if not, it might be possible to save him, and promised to inquire regarding the man.

They afterward learned that Mr. Ichikawa had died in prison, previous to their call upon the Governor. His wife, who was released, reported that he had died with great joy in his heart, trusting in Christ. Thus suffered the first and only Protestant martyr in Japan.

The Bible was still a proscribed book, the Governor of Kobe announcing that if a book seller sold a Bible, knowing it to be such, he should be obliged, acting by imperial order, to put him in prison.

Under such handicaps the first Protestant missionaries in Japan worked for thirteen years, until the edicts against Christianity were finally removed in 1872. Those were days of the testing of faith and of waiting, but the new missionary found himself, from the first, well occupied with the language and with indirect work. His efforts at language study were characteristic: "My teacher was a scholar from Kyoto. He came the first morning with a

list of Chinese characters that he wished me to learn. I told him that I wanted to learn to talk the language of the common people, and so we began. I used to take a string of cash and spend hours in the shops, trying to talk with the people. There were very few language helps. We had Hepburn's Dictionary, and a Grammar written by a Hollander who had never seen Japan. There were no books in the colloquial language."

To a man of his direct habits of speech, the circumlocutions of the language were trying, and it was a long time before he became reconciled to saying, "The not doing of this must not be," for plain English, "You must." He early learned the value of first-hand bargaining with the people: "I wanted a wash board, and taking my servant to a carpenter shop, asked him to bargain for the board. I had told my servant that I could not pay more than fifty cents, and, thereupon, he at once told the carpenter to charge not less than fifty cents. I never took a servant along to help me after that."

During those first weeks curious mistakes were made. Mrs. Davis, one day, meaning to order "niku" (meat), for dinner, instead, ordered, "neko" (a cat), and was horrified when the cook brought in a fine black cat and asked if it would do.

After ten days, the teacher, frightened because of government persecutions of the Nagasaki Christians, left, and for a year it was difficult to find a man who dared to sit down beside a missionary and teach him the language. For nearly two years the servants would not listen to any Christian teaching.

Forty days after the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Davis, a little daughter, whom they named Clara Strong, was born.

Early in June, 1872, in company with Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Berry, who had just arrived to reinforce the mission, Mr. Davis made a visit to the interior city of Kyoto, the

ancient capital and the center of art and religion of the empire. The city, which had been closed to foreigners for two centuries, was opened during one hundred days for an exhibition of arts and industries. While in Kyoto they were invited by Mr. Davis' old teacher to take dinner, as guests of honor, with some fifty Japanese physicians. This experience profoundly impressed Mr. Davis with the importance of Kyoto as a center for educational and evangelistic work. "I shall never forget the impression that Kyoto made upon me as we stood on Maruyama[1] and heard the hum of its traffic as it came up to our ears. I was moved with the beauty of the situation, surrounded with mountains on all sides, the magnificent temples, the great image of Buddha and the lovely art objects of Japan, which I now saw for the first time. The ovation given Dr. Berry shows that missionary physicians are needed here and can exert an influence from the first that will be felt by a whole city. It shows that this people is ready for the truth and will welcome contact with the world. We are expecting any morning to wake up and find all Japan open to us, and then where are the men to put into the requisite centers? We cannot overestimate the importance of Kyoto. An interior city of 300,000 people, it is the center of a rural population of one million within a radius of ten miles. We ought to have a strong force of, at least, three missionaries and a physician to put in there at once."

In July, upon the advice of Dr. Berry, they took the baby to the village of Arima, in the mountains north of Kobe, a place noted for its waterfalls and medicinal springs, and lived in two rooms of a Japanese house through the hottest part of the summer. The outstanding event of the summer was a friendship formed with Viscount Kuki, the ex-Daimio,[2] of Sanda. One August day the Davis family

[1] A hill rising on the eastern edge of the city.
[2] Daimio, a feudal lord with landed and proprietary rights.

made an excursion to the castle town of Sanda, the mother and daughter riding in a chair slung between two poles, which the father had built for such outings. While resting in the Sanda hotel, the Daimio's wife called upon Mrs. Davis with a present of a watermelon. A little later, the Viscount and his family came up to Arima to spend a few weeks and the acquaintance deepened into friendship. The Japanese noble called upon the missionary every day, and asked questions regarding Christianity and western science and customs.

While at Arima, Viscount Kuki made frequent presents to Mr. Davis, among them a huge crane, five feet in height. The bird was supposed to be a delicacy, but was entirely too tough to be eaten, so the cook was ordered to carefully dispose of it.

Early the next morning, a policeman appeared with the long-legged bird, stating that he had taken it from a countryman who could not explain how he had got it. Mr. Davis received several congratulations over the recovery of the Daimio's gift, and he began to fear lest he might have to eat it after all. At nightfall, he told the cook to bury the bird, this time in the mountain behind the village. While the family were at breakfast the next day, a woodcutter called with the bedraggled crane upon his back, saying that he had found it covered with leaves in the woods up the road, and begged leave to return the honorable gift of the Daimio of Sanda. Late that night a foreigner with a curiously shaped parcel under his arm and a spade on his shoulder might have been seen climbing through the Arima hills to a secluded spot, and the Daimio's gift did not appear again.

During September, at the request of some young men of the town, the Davis family spent three weeks in Sanda, during which period twenty curious young men came three times a day to listen and to ask questions about Chris-

tianity and science. "We studied the Gospel of John, and though I could only speak in a stammering way, I did my best to make the meaning clear." After returning to Kobe Mr. Davis bought a horse and for more than a year rode the twenty miles to Sanda each Saturday night, returning on Monday. Arriving at his customary hotel in Sanda one night in a pouring rain, he was refused admittance; and a refusal greeting him at each hotel in the place, it was evident that opposition had developed to the "Jesus way." "It began to look as if I should have to return. I was leading my horse in the darkness, on a back street, praying for guidance, and, finally, knocked at an unknown gate. It proved to be a small Buddhist temple. The widow and her son who kept the place were so poor that they were glad of the rent I was willing to pay. I spent the night there, and there we had our meetings for six months. I had the main room of the temple, eating, sleeping and preaching before the images and sacred relics.

"The following autumn, Dr. Berry rented a small house for a hospital and clinic in Sanda, and we had a room in that for our meetings. I extemporized a wood stove and had a comfortable room where the young men came every Saturday evening to see me. They came again Sunday morning, afternoon and evening, and after the evening sermon they would stay until late, talking together. In this way I learned a good deal of the language, the national viewpoint, and found many points of contact."

He was enthusiastic over the splendid medical work of Dr. Berry in Kobe and Sanda, and urged the appointment of more medical missionaries, as indispensable aids in opening the field. The next Autumn he opened an English school for young men in Kobe and for nine months taught English and mathematics, since no direct Christian teaching was possible in Kobe at this time. The students paid all the expenses of the school, which finally enrolled one hun-

dred young men. "April 15th, 1873, our school has kept up its number to over seventy; ever since we started, five months ago. Mr. Greene has a Bible service in the school, and we hope, soon, to have a suitable room in connection with our book-store where a daily service can be held, but the opposition is too great just at present." The reputation of the foreign school found its way to Osaka, where an official invited Mr. Davis to open a school at a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a month. This, of course, he was unable to do.

The Sanda work had a vital connection with the beginnings of Kobe Women's College, for with the arrival of Misses Dudley and Talcott, in the spring of 1873, a girls' school was opened in the home of the Sanda Daimio, who had now moved to Kobe.

Viscount Kuki boldly identified himself with the Christian movement, placing his own children and relatives in the care of the American ladies. This was the nucleus of the present Kobe College.

During the second summer at Arima, the baby's milk supply necessitated the taking of a cow into the mountains with the Davis family. At the entrance to the village the cow and her attendant were stopped. When an explanation was demanded, he was told, "No cows allowed in our village now; cows bring flies; flies bring discomfort; no cows allowed in this village now." The diary records that the cow was stabled in the "suburbs."

There was a great need of simple Christian literature, for, as yet, none of the Gospels had been printed completely in Japanese, although the Gospel of John appeared during that summer. There were no available tracts.

One day, under the maples beside the Arima waterfall, Mr. Davis, in broken Japanese, wrote a simple story of the loving heavenly Father who had created man and who sent his Son to show him his love and to die for him. His

struggles to get this tract put into the vernacular were characteristic of many attempts of that early period, when, as yet, no vocabulary for the expression of Christian truth had been formulated.

His teacher was told to translate this story into such simple Japanese that anyone could read and understand it. "When my teacher had copied this into Japanese, I asked him to revise it, using simpler forms of expression, but it came back in such high Chinese that none of the common people could read it. I then asked another scholar of the pure Japanese language to put it in such form that the masses could read it and, after another month, it came back about fifty degrees higher yet. I then took my original draft, sat down by my teacher and fought it over word by word and sentence by sentence, demanding that the words that could be understood by the greatest number of common people should be used, and, after two months more, it was ready for the block cutter." This tract, the "Chika Michi,"[1] was the first original tract prepared in Japan and within ten years had reached a circulation of over one hundred thousand copies.

The dearth of devotional music was so great that Mr. Davis translated a number of hymns, which were published in the first hymn-book used in the Congregational churches of Japan. A few of them have been revised and are still in use, the best known being, "Jehoba wo home yo," or, "Praise Jehovah."

The missionaries were constantly reminded that the government restrictions upon Christianity were not a dead letter. As late as February, 1875, Mr. Davis gave fifty copies of his tracts to one of the Kobe Christians, Mr. Imamura Kenkichi, to distribute among friends at his home in Kanazawa.

A little later, the Governor of Ishikawa Prefecture made

[1] The Short Way (of Knowing the True God).

a requisition upon the Governor of Hyogo Prefecture for the arrest and detention of Mr. Imamura, upon the charge of having distributed books of the evil sect called Christian. After an imprisonment of many months this fearless man took charge of the bookstore and press of the American Board Mission in Kobe, and later founded the "Fukuin sha"[1] and the "Keisei sha,"[1] which for twenty-five years as an independent Japanese company has been publishing an increasing volume of Christian literature for the empire.

During the winter of 1873 to '74, the first Christian prayer-meeting was held in central Japan. Five or six young men, together with the wife of one of the number, whom Mr. Greene had been teaching, became interested in the Truth. "One evening we met them in Mr. Greene's house and they all prayed. It was the first time that we had heard Japanese offer a Christian prayer, and formed a scene never to be forgotten." The next spring, April 19th, 1874, a church of eleven members was organized in Kobe, several of the Osaka Christians walking the twenty miles from that city to be present. One month later, a church of seven members was organized in Osaka. These were the first churches of the Kumi-ai, or Congregational body, in Japan.

The constitution of these churches was very simple. They were called "Churches of Christ," and it was decided to take the creed of the Evangelical Alliance. Mr. Davis was asked to prepare the first draft of the covenant and rules of membership. Because of the broad basis of the new churches he felt that assent to creed should not be made test of membership, and so drew up the questions for the candidates for baptism and the following church covenant, which was adopted by these churches and which has been, with a few changes, incorporated into the covenant of the Kumi-ai churches of Japan and is still used:—

[1] The Gospel Company.

"Believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, we desire to form ourselves into a church, called by His name, in order that we may publicly worship God, study God's word, obey God's laws and ordinances, mutually help each other in the Christian life, and spread abroad the knowledge of salvation in our country and in the world.

"Desiring to be united in faith and love with all in the world who love our Lord Jesus Christ, we adopt the following as the basis of our faith: — (here follows the creed of the Evangelical Alliance.)"

Following the questions to Candidates for Baptism, the covenant reads: — "We covenant with each other and with these new members, that we will live henceforth, not for ourselves, but for the Saviour who died for us; that while loyal to our country and our government, we will make it our most important business every day, directly or indirectly, to teach others about this Saviour, and to lead them to follow Him; that we will not knowingly engage in any business, or do anything which will hinder our influence in this great work; that we will keep the Sabbath sacred to the public and private worship of God and the study and teaching of his word. And now praying that God will keep us all faithful unto death and greatly increase the number of believers, we give the hand of welcome to the new members as a token of our love and fellowship."

This covenant shows that from the outset stress was laid upon the responsibility of church members for spreading the Gospel. This lay activity became a chief characteristic of these first groups of Christians and an effective source of growth of the Kumi-ai Church. When the question of organizing a church arose in Sanda, some of the Christians considered it premature, for, as they said, "We cannot all yet preach well."

The membership of the Kobe Church doubled in the first year. "The church now numbers thirty-two mem-

bers," wrote Mr. Davis in the spring of 1875, " twenty men and twelve women. Of these twenty men, thirteen have, from the time they were received into the church, been preachers of the word, not paid as helpers, by the mission, but going out to preach on the Sabbath and during the week at their own charge. Regular weekly preaching is kept up by them in five different places, and monthly, in about as many more. They go on foot to do this, or have paid for carriage hire, or other expenses, out of their very limited means, refusing foreign money."

Early in 1873, an invitation came to Mr. Davis from the five American Board missionaries in Osaka, to join them in the work in that great industrial center. He felt, however, that on account of the steadily widening doors in Kobe and Sanda, he was not justified in changing his field. Already, too, there was maturing the conviction that the training of workers for leadership in the Japanese church was the first work toward which he should direct his energies and for the development of this plan, the nucleus of young men that the missionaries in Kobe had gathered around them offered excellent material. He now began to work more definitely upon this educational plan.

The Sanda work was steadily pushed during 1874. The dispensary and hospital of Dr. Berry had greatly increased the hold of Christianity upon the town, and the work for women took on considerable proportions. In the early summer of 1875, Mr. Davis organized a church in Sanda, the third of the Kumi-ai group. Of the twenty men who had studied with him, more than half became Christians, and though most of them eventually moved away from Sanda, they became valued workers in other parts of Japan.

Although the edicts against Christianity had been removed in 1872, it was still very difficult to find a place where the Gospel could be preached. " I went with some of the young men of the church to the towns between

Kobe and Osaka, Sumiyoshi, Nishino-miya and Kanzaki, but even the tea houses refused us permission to use a room to speak to those who came to see us about Christ. Meetings were, however, held in private houses, where a few of the neighbors came in to hear."

The change from the free, breezy life of the Wyoming plains to the conventions, suspicion and red tape of his new environment was necessitating severe adjustments to the missionary, adjustments which must either make or mar character. Miss Eliza Talcott, one of the founders of Kobe College, who lived at this time in the Davis home, wrote of him: "Mr. Davis' smile wins your heart at once. He has grown very much in grace this last year; his natural impatience and restless hurry have given place to a patient restfulness, which with all his energy behind it, makes him a tower of strength. I think he realizes his power, too, in a measure, but there is not the slightest trace of conceit. He says that sometimes his great joy unfits him for the work. The fact is, he is exceedingly enthusiastic and lives faster than anybody I know."

The birth of a second daughter, Genevieve, and the arrival of Mrs. Davis' sister, Mrs. E. T. Doane of Micronesia, necessitated removal into a large Japanese house, farther from the foreign settlement. "Robbers were troublesome through this winter. One night I was awakened by a noise in the adjoining room. Taking my pistol, I entered the room and by the bright moonlight saw a man sorting over clothing which was scattered in every direction. Another stood outside with a bundle under his arm. As I entered, both men sprang for the street and I after them. I fired through the window at the man on the roof, who seemed most likely to escape. He dropped his bundle and both men jumped. I followed them, off the roof, across the garden and into the street, firing as I ran, and on my return, picked up a good deal of clothing which they had

dropped. I didn't want to hit them, only thoroughly frighten them. We were not visited by robbers again that year." When one of his colleagues protested against his use of firearms upon the Japanese and urged prayer as a measure of defence, he replied that he believed that prayer, backed up by a good revolver, was very effective on Kobe robbers.

In this home Mrs. Davis began to conduct family worship in Japanese, reading the Gospels with the servants and a few neighbors who came in each day to hear about the new faith. Several of these people were afterward baptized. One of the senior pastors, still preaching in the Kumi-ai Church, here found his first interest in Christianity.

The turbulent political and social atmosphere of 1872, made the future of missionary work in Japan extremely uncertain. A reaction from the first interest in foreign affairs had set in. Assassinations of liberal political leaders were frequent and ruffians were hired to attack and insult foreigners. He wrote: "You will conclude that we have a changeful atmosphere in Japan. It could hardly be otherwise. When reforms are taking place among a great people changes come as the ebb and flow of a tide, as first the radical and then the conservative party gains the upper hand. This is an encouraging sign, if only, in the quick succession of changes, the cause be gaining ground.

"There is no question that religious freedom is gaining ground here. We must not mind the little gusts that sweep hither and thither across our quarter deck, but rather look up at the steady trade winds that fill our topsails, all the time set in the same direction. Instead of recent events modifying our last appeal for more men, in my view, they add force to it. . . . I want to call just as loudly as I can, so that very soon, when the crisis is on

us and we are overrun, swamped for want of men, I can feel that I did my duty."

In September, 1872, the first convention of Protestant missionaries in Japan was held in Yokohama. The sessions met in the chapel of Dr. Hepburn's dispensary, and were attended by nearly all the missionaries in the country.

This conference recommended the appointment of a union committee for Bible translation and adopted a plan which should secure identity of name and organization for the Japanese church, "that name being as catholic as the Church of Christ and the organization being that wherein the government of each church shall be by the ministry and eldership of the same, with the concurrence of the brethren." The name "Church of Christ" was adopted, the creed of the Evangelical Alliance was taken, and it was agreed to appoint and ordain a pastor, elders and deacons in each church.

It was hoped by the members of the American Board Mission that in this way the churches of Japan would all be united in a federated union, with a unanimity of name, creed and officers, and that, while each church or group would be free to conduct its internal affairs independently, they would all meet, each year, for conference and prayer and for planning for the evangelization of the empire. After a few years, differences in interpretation of this union arose; the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches understood it to be an organic union, giving the general conference full ecclesiastical power.

Some of the other churches, among them those of the American Board Mission, could not approve a union which implied a central governing power, and thus the first attempt at church union in Japan failed.

Mr. Davis believed with his colleagues of the committee appointed to deal with the union question, that a close federation of the principal churches, rather than an ecclesi-

astical union, would be best adapted to meet the needs of the highly organized political and social atmosphere of Japan. He wrote to the committee representing the Presbyterian group: "I consider that a heart union exists between your churches and ours, one which may drop denominational names, and, so far as possible, denominational peculiarities, and which includes the close fraternization of the churches. This would make apparent to the world what is a fact, but what is too often hid under the cloak of sectarianism, viz., — the oneness of all Christians in Christ, their Head. . . . I deeply regret that the union plan has failed, and earnestly hope that we may have, at least, a yearly meeting for prayer, conference and communion in which every organization of Christians in the empire may be represented.

Yours in the best of bonds,"

Though the union effort of 1872 miscarried, it gave an impetus to cooperative action in mission work that has largely influenced the Christian movement in Japan. Among its direct and indirect results may be mentioned the work of the Bible Translation Committee, the general district conference held annually in Osaka for the central section of Japan, the triennial conference of all Japanese churches, the Council of Missions uniting the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, the union of the Methodist and other affiliated groups, and the Council of Federated Missions which has, of recent years, come into a large place of service in the Christian work of the empire.

Upon the promulgation of the Edict of Religious Freedom in the spring of 1873, Mr. Davis wrote to Boston: "The whole country is now opened to the entrance of foreigners and of Christianity. To all human appearances, unless we are speedily and largely reinforced, the golden opportunity for Japan will be lost. Now when we need

twenty fully trained men, we have only five on the ground and most of us only beginners. God will take care of his work, but if we fail to call for men we fail to do our duty."

In May, 1873, another visit to Kyoto and the neighboring Lake Biwa basin renewed his conviction of the necessity of manning the interior. "I am deeply impressed with the populousness of this Lake Biwa basin, where you may count several hundred villages nestled among the river valleys watering the lake, and with the kindly disposition of the people toward us and the universal desire to have the country opened to the world. As I saw this surging population and wandered all one afternoon among the beautiful temples east of Kyoto, and found the paths leading to them grass-grown, and the buildings almost deserted, I could not keep from praying for the men to go up and possess this land."

He now began to write to the American Board and to the church papers, in vehement tones, emphasizing the unprecedented opportunity facing the Christian church in Japan. The closeness of the nations seemed to him a direct challenge to a new conception of responsibility on the part of the more favored peoples: the jealousy of American Christians for the development of the home field, a pretence which could not bear the light of the facts. The accessibility of the dense population around Osaka and Kyoto; the eagerness of the people to hear of Christianity; the fact that the country would now be open to foreign residence, with the ban removed from the foreign religion, the handful of missionaries on the field and the immense disparity in the number of workers in America and Japan, were realities which rested upon his heart night and day and gave him no peace. "The 'cannot' which we hear from some in the United States is simply a tremendous 'will not,' for which God holds us responsible. If we wait until America is regenerated before we work for Africa and

Asia we will wait forever, since the millennium will not come to one nation alone. God is bringing the nations all together; they stand side by side; the man who works for Japan or China or Africa today, works for America; works for the world."

From Arima, in the summer of 1874, he wrote: "The work is opening on all sides and pressing upon us. I have my family here in the mountains again, but cannot run away from work. I preach at Kobe or Sanda every Sabbath, and have a service at my house here every day. People are here from a hundred miles around for the baths, which provides a grand chance for scattering the truth."

In the autumn of 1874, Mr. Davis opened the training class for Christian workers which he had borne constantly upon his mind during the preceding year. A few of the students were from among the men he had taught in Sanda; more were from the Kobe church, some of whom he described as "sure to make grand workers," while a little later several young men from Osaka entered the class. Dec. 23rd, "These twelve men are the nucleus of a small training school which it has been my blessed privilege to start. The students are very regular in attendance. We have finished reading Acts and are now half way through Romans. I also give them lectures on the History of Christianity and in Theology, and Mr. Gulick has a class in Moral Science."

From the outset of this little school Mr. Davis felt the difficulty of meeting the needs of the situation or the desires of the students for thorough preparation. The brighter men were not satisfied with the mission school as a preparation for the Christian ministry and showed their unrest by making plans for going to America. To hold students in a school with no equipment and a staff of three missionaries was a serious problem. Furthermore, to students unable to go abroad the rising educational standards

of the government colleges presented attractions with which an unsubsidized mission school could not compete. "Unless we can start a thorough school at once, we lose to our work most of the Christian young men around us and our hands are tied. More than this, our whole mission sees that we must have a Christian college if we would train up a ministry that can successfully grapple with the materialism of the government institutions. It is our only hope and we may as well face it from the outset."

Efforts toward the solution of this problem, concurring with the return of Mr. Neesima to Japan, led directly to the founding of the Doshisha.

The plan for a full collegiate department in connection with the training school did not meet with approval in Boston. Some of the Prudential Committee considered a secular course outside of the province of real missionary activity, and others feared that even though desirable, such a college would draw into its faculty too many of the missionaries. It was further urged that the rapidly growing system of government education should provide for the secular training of the students and that the course of the training school was sufficient to prepare men for the ministry in Japan. Mr. Davis felt deeply upon the necessity of full college training for the young men who were to be the first representatives of Christianity to their countrymen. "Our aim here is to have all of our ministers and ordained clergy, bishops, in the highest sense of the word, to oversee and counsel the busy lives of workers. It is this conception of the ministry which makes me feel that a Christian College in connection with our work is an early necessity.

"It would be as unwise to ordain a man here without knowledge of science as it would be to ordain a backwoodsman in America."

In the spring of 1875, he was asked to give a paper on

the "Training of the Native Ministry" at the annual mission meeting. The following points, which formed the basis of his policy through the years of constructive work in the Doshisha, were emphasized:

"1. Get the young men. To do this we must have a school which will attract and hold them.

2. There must be some plan by which such students can support themselves while in school.

3. They must have an expectation of support after they enter the ministry.

4. We must all be filled with and taught by the Holy Spirit, if we would lead these young men to a full consecration of themselves to this work and to success in it."

Following up the outline of policy contained in this paper, he wrote to Boston a clear statement of the condition of their students, showing that the majority were of the Samurai class, which had lately been dispossessed of its feudal rights and sources of income and had never been trained to work. Upon this basis he asked the Board for an appropriation of $200.00 to enable special work to be given to needy students. He spoke of the great demands upon the pockets of the missionaries and of the way many were giving more than their tithe to save critical situations which arose, and closed his letter with the words, "But whether tithes will found a school or not, I do not know."

Chapter XI

THE FOUNDING OF THE DOSHISHA

UNLIKE the history of some other similar institutions, the birth of the Doshisha may be traced to several distinct sources. Widely differing in origin, these lines of influence were brought into cooperative activity through a remarkable chain of circumstances, a story that can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of Christian education. The growing conviction of a group of American missionaries in Kobe that a training school for the equipment of their Japanese co-workers should be established was one of these converging influences. A more romantic and dynamic source of this great school may be found in the spiritual vision and dauntless determination of a Japanese boy to know the truth and to follow it wherever it might lead.

When the fleet of Commodore Perry steamed into Yedo Bay, in 1853, a seed was sown in the heart of a ten-year-old lad that was to bear, when full grown, the greatest Christian university in the Far East. Neesima was the son of a retainer of Prince Itakura, a daimio of the Province of Kosuke, near Tokyo. Living in Tokyo, at the court of his lord, he had seen the black, foreign war-ships and developed a longing to learn the language and customs of the new civilization that had impinged upon his native shores. At fifteen, in a Chinese history, written by an American missionary he read, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." This statement answered for him an unsolved mystery. He reasoned, "If God made the earth, he made me. If he made me, then I must be thankful to him: I must believe in him and I must be upright against him." He prayed, "O if you have eyes,

look upon me, if you have ears, listen to me." With an intense desire to know more about God, he prayed to him daily for six years before the opportunity came. Since the author of the book in which he had read of God was an American, he reasoned that if he could get away to America he could learn about the new religion and civilization which he felt that his country needed. With this ambition to reach America strong within him, he faced the question of ways and means. Parents and feudal lord refused the boy's request to go to Hakodate, the northern port where he hoped to come into contact with foreign influences. Moreover, for three hundred years there had been a death penalty fixed for the crime of leaving the country; but death had few terrors for Neesima: he was in quest of life, and with the daily prayer, "O God, please help me to reach my great aim," upon his lips, he resolved to place himself in exile.

On a black night in July, 1864, the American schooner "Berlin" was weighing anchor in Hakodate harbor for Shanghai. Presently a sampan came alongside; a slight figure leaped up the chains and disappeared in the vessel's hold; government officials boarded the ship, an inspection followed, clearance papers were given, and with a freshening breeze upon her quarter, the "Berlin" slipped her mooring and stood out for the open sea and the far-off China port. The Japanese harbor master registered a "foreign devil ship" cleared for the China coast, nor did he nor any soul in all the land dream that in the dirty hold of a foreign ship there left Japan that night one who would set the standards of Christian education for the empire.

From Shanghai, young Neesima worked his way, for a year, on the American clipper ship, "Wild Rover," to Boston. Here he was found by Mr. Alpheus Hardy, the owner of the vessel, who took him into his own home and

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gave him every educational advantage that New England could afford. From Andover Academy he passed to Amherst College, and was in the midst of his course at Andover Theological Seminary when the Iwakura Diplomatic Embassy was sent by Japan to America and Europe to study western civilization. Hearing of Neesima, Prince Iwakura sent him a summary command to act as interpreter for the embassy. Neesima, the outlaw from his country, promised his services in return for exemption from punishment, for religious freedom and for the privilege of observing the Sabbath, and for over a year he travelled with the Embassy on terms of close intimacy through most of the capitals of Europe.

This experience not only won for the Japanese student the esteem and confidence of the great men (among them Kido, Okubo, Ito and Tanaka) who were to return to head departments of the new government of Japan, but it enabled him to make a detailed study of the finest educational systems of the world. Never was the divine Hand more clearly seen in shaping the course of a life. For without the confidence of these powerful leaders and the broad view of education which Neesima secured in journeying with them, the Doshisha, as a Japanese school, the product of Japanese faith and enterprise, would not have been born. Neesima prepared a paper which was taken as the report of the Embassy upon education, and which afterward, in a modified form, became the basis of the system of education adopted by the empire.

Though strongly pressed by Prince Iwakura to return to Japan, with the assurance of high political preferment, Neesima resolutely declined and returned, in 1873, to Andover Seminary, where he was graduated the following year.

He passed a most satisfactory examination and was ordained as an evangelist, the first of his race to receive this

office. He was also appointed a corresponding member of the Japan mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Neesima was now ready to return to Japan, but for one great unfulfilled purpose. With all that he had received of the blessings of Christian education and influence, there had grown the longing to create in his own land for his countrymen, the opportunities that he had himself enjoyed. And thus he was led to make that famous appeal for a Christian college in Japan, upon the platform of the American Board meeting at Rutland, Vt., in October, 1874.

The occasion is a memorable one in the annals of the Board, the large Christian audience; the intense earnestness of the young Japanese, pleading with broken voice and overflowing eyes the need of his people for Christian education, and the evident nervousness of the Board secretaries as the speaker finally exclaimed, "I cannot go back to Japan without the money to found a Christian college, and I am going to stand here until I get it." He had barely finished when Governor Page, of Vermont, sprang to his feet and pledged a thousand dollars, Alpheus Hardy, William E. Dodge and others pledged five hundred dollars each, and in a few minutes nearly five thousand dollars was raised.

Mr. Neesima reached Japan in December, 1874, a few weeks after the arrival of Secretary N. G. Clark's letter, announcing to the mission the gift for a training school. Earlier in the year the mission had sent an earnest invitation to Mr. Neesima to join its ranks, and now his return with $5,000 for a school seemed a miracle to those in the little circle who had been praying for some such result. God's hand was moving faster than the faith of his workers.

Osaka, with its large population and central position, was a natural site for the new school. Mr. Neesima tried for several months to secure permission from the governor

to establish a college in that city. The governor told him that he approved of such a school in Osaka, but that no missionary should teach in it. Kobe, at this time a small trading port, offered few advantages as an educational center. With Kobe and Osaka out of the question, Kyoto seemed to be the only alternative, but it was preposterous to think of a Christian college in connection with Kyoto, for it was an interior city where no foreigner was allowed to reside. For a thousand years Kyoto had been the sacred center of Buddhism, the home of Japanese religion, art and culture. For an equal period it had boasted the imperial residence, the holy of holies, to which the heart of every Japanese had instinctively turned. Moreover, the old capital was away from the centers of work which the American Board Mission had opened, and as an interior city foreigners could have no property or residence rights there.

The mission, at length, consented to the location of the school in Kyoto, if permission could be secured, and in the summer of 1875, Mr. Neesima went up to Kyoto to see if the impossible could be accomplished. But God had already been working mightily in Kyoto, preparing the way for the youth who had staked all on the chance of finding him, and preparing the way for the doubting mission. Kyoto had been opened for one hundred days during each of the two preceding summers for an exhibition of the city's products and wares. Members of the mission, visiting the exhibition, had met Mr. Yamamoto Kakuma, a blind counsellor of the Kyoto Fu,[1] and had interested him in Christian truth, and now when Mr. Neesima presented his plan for the establishment of a Christian school in Kyoto, this influential man gave it his warm approval. He went further and interested the governor of the city in the

[1] "Fu," a designation for the largest municipal government in Japan, embracing jurisdiction over surrounding country districts.

plan. Governor Makimura, however, expressed doubts as to the possibility of securing imperial sanction for the school.

In June, Mr. Davis went to Kyoto with Mr. Neesima and examined a site situated in the northern part of the city, near the palace grounds, with a large temple grove adjoining. The land, formerly the property of the daimio of Satsuma, now belonged to Mr. Yamamoto, the city counsellor. "June 10th, 1875, I am just back from a hurried visit to Kyoto. . . . The blind counsellor, whose friendship Mr. Gulick gained three years ago, and to whom Dr. Gordon gave a copy of Martyn's 'Evidence of Christianity,' and with whom Mr. Neesima had labored faithfully, sees the light. He can hardly rest day or night. He has had the New Testament, in Chinese, read through to him twice. The vice-governor is nearly as much interested as Yamamoto san, who, by the way, is the brains of the city government. They want a Christian school there, at once. Mr. Yamamoto owns five acres of land, which he will sell to the school for the nominal price of $550. God seems to be opening the way wonderfully in this spiritual center of the empire. I hope to go there next September to begin work with Mr. Neesima."

Since no foreign company could hold property in Kyoto, a Japanese corporation, whose charter members were Messrs. Neesima and Yamamoto, was organized for owning and controlling the school. The name "Doshisha," or "One purpose Company," was taken as the title of the corporation and Mr. Davis was engaged as the first foreign teacher. While the terms of incorporation provided that the power of making regulations and the control of the school should be vested in the hands of the corporation, it was stated that Mr. Davis should act as adviser to the corporation and that his judgment should be consulted in the management and affairs of the school.

Although the approval of the local government for the location of the school in Kyoto had been received, the sanction of the central government was necessary. Messrs. Neesima and Davis drew up a formal petition for the location of the school and a foreign teacher in Kyoto, to be presented to the Tokyo authorities. The Governor of Kyoto urged Mr. Neesima to go at once to the capital and use every possible pressure in favor of the petition, without which it was certain to be ignored. Mr. Neesima left the governor's palace, hired two swift runners, and by travelling night and day, with frequent changes, covered the three hundred and twenty miles to Tokyo in advance of the petition. Again the divine Factor enters the story. Viscount Tanaka, now the Minister of Education for the empire, had been Mr. Neesima's most intimate friend in the Japanese Embassy in Europe. He told him, at first, that it would be impossible to grant permission for a Christian school in Kyoto; it was regarded as the sacred city of the empire and he foresaw great opposition and prejudice on the part of the people. During three days Mr. Neesima, undaunted, had repeated conferences with the Minister of Education, as well as with other members of the Cabinet, to most of whom he was personally well known, with the result that Viscount Tamaka finally told him that if he would be very careful not to arouse the opposition of the people he would allow the opening of the school. The permission for the residence of a missionary was delayed several months, a period of great strain and anxiety for all who were interested in the school, for this was the technicality upon which its opponents relied to block the whole plan.

During the summer, Viscount Tamaka, Minister of Education, visited Mr. Neesima in Kyoto, to press the claims of his country's service upon him. For three days and two nights the two friends sat in the humble Kyoto cottage,

the imperial representative urging the need of the nation for Mr. Neesima's abilities; the young Christian resolutely holding to his life ideal of Christian education. Cleverly did the great official argue the signal opportunity for propagating Christian ideals which high government office could bring. For three days Neesima's simple reply was:— "My life is not my own; it belongs to Jesus Christ. Many years ago I solemnly swore to devote my entire time and effort to His cause. I cannot take back my words and my heart. I cannot do it." "As twilight was purpling on the historic hills of Kyoto, fragrant with the memory of a thousand years of culture, Viscount Tanaka rose. He had reached the end of his patience. He was a simple-hearted man, a patriot, who could not understand the language of the man of religion. Without the slightest hesitation he would have sacrificed all the Buddhas in the world, if they could add even a trifle to the power of the state. He was disgusted with the attitude of Neesima. "Well, Neesima," he said, "I am going. I am sorry. You are indeed the slave of Jesus Christ. Good bye."

From the very first, Mr. Neesima had received from Mr. Davis the most sympathetic support and intimate counsel in all matters relating to the opening of a collegiate institute. The problems of his training class in Kobe had led him to champion unreservedly any plan that looked toward improved training facilities for Christian workers, and now when the time came to allocate a foreign teacher in the new school, Mr. Davis was the choice of the mission. On the 19th of October, 1875, in company with his family, he entered Kyoto and settled in a wing of the old Yanagiwara "yashiki," [1] on the east side of the Palace. This dilapidated official residence of an imperial retainer, boasting one hundred rooms and three hundred and fifty doors and

[1] "Yashiki," a large residence or palace of an important retainer, in this case himself a Daimio.

windows, was set apart for his use. "Nov. 3rd. Events have crowded out all time for writing since our arrival. The old house, a part of which we occupy, has not been opened since the Mikado moved to Tokyo, eight years ago, and the mats were so worm-eaten that many of them fell to pieces when lifted up. The floors, sills and supports were rotten in many places and had to be renewed. By dint of the hardest kind of work and pushing carpenters, coolies and blacksmiths, who knew nothing of the way foreigners want things, we got the bed-room, sitting room dining room and pantry partially inhabitable last Saturday night, and stoves (made from an old steam-boat funnel cut into sections) put up in the bedroom, sitting room and kitchen. This involved the putting up of over one hundred feet of stove piping. As our little boy was born Monday morning, it proved that we were thus far settled none too soon. During this transition period, the children took heavy colds. If I had to fix over an old Japanese house every year of my life I would try to be patient, but I would pray that the days might be shortened, although such a prayer would probably not be necessary.

"Nov. 18th. We have in the house on Teramachi,[1] which we have rented for the school, sixteen well-lighted rooms, nearly all matted, for fourteen dollars a month. We are to have our house for six dollars a month, though no written agreement is made. I have urged it again and again, but things move slowly here. Our grounds around the house and the quiet of the place are all that could be desired. I have learned that the Shinto and Buddhist priests in the city sent a petition to the Department of Religion in Yedo, soon after we came up here, to have this heresy stopped. Nearly fifty people came in the rain yesterday to hear the truth."

When it became known through the city that a charter

[1] "Teramachi," or temple street, bounding the Imperial park on the east.

for a Christian school had been granted and that a Christian missionary was to live in Kyoto, the twelve thousand Buddhist and Shinto priests held mass meetings and made such a commotion as the old city had not seen for many years. The Hongwanji[1] priest paid almost daily visits to the governor, loaded with costly presents, and presented petition after petition that the hateful movement be stamped out at its beginning. The foreign teachers in the city schools did their best to prejudice the governor against the new enterprise. A school to oppose the teachings of the Doshisha was organized by the Buddhists and foreigners were engaged to teach. A Dutch physician, employed in the city hospital, expressed it as his opinion, that Neesima and Davis might as well try to throw Mt. Hiei into Lake Biwa as to attempt to start a Christian school in Kyoto.

The organized pressure that was brought to bear upon Governor Makimura now began to show in various ways; His daily visits to the home of his blind counsellor ceased. Mr. Yamamoto's sister, a leading teacher in the Girls' School of the city, who had been for some time very friendly with the missionaries, was discharged, and, finally, on November 19th, the owner of the house which had been rented for the Doshisha sent word that he would have to break his contract, although advance rent had been paid and possession had been taken of the building. The situation looked very black. Nov. 19th, in Mr. Davis' diary, we find: — "What the result of all this is to be, God only knows, The acorn is in the bottle, however, and it will, in time, with God's blessing, split the bottle. . . . It is a great consolation to be able to leave it all to Him whose work it is. Yesterday we had thirteen in the morning and twelve in the evening. Three Buddhist priests

[1] "Hongwanji," one of the largest and most powerful Buddhist sects, with headquarters in Kyoto.

came to our morning service, one of them much interested."

His ability to see and to enjoy the humorous side of the kaleidescopic events of his rapidly changing environment was a safety valve which he frequently indulged and which helped to balance the strain of his position. "I went down last Monday to see the things which are to be sent from Kyoto to the Centennial in Philadelphia, but found the buildings filled with a hundred or more city officials, dressed in ill-fitting black broadcloth suits, with swallow-tail coats, reaching nearly to their heels, and many of them with silk plug hats coming down over their ears, their clothes in wrinkles, with white shirts and white cravats; altogether the most comical sight I have ever seen in Japan."

Those were anxious days, filled with consultation and planning with Messrs. Neesima and Yamamoto, and with preparations for the opening of the school. Although from the first Sabbath in Kyoto he had started a preaching service in his home, there was little time or strength left for evangelistic work, and now even when the whole issue of the school seemed in the balance, he felt that he was not fully meeting the opportunities about him. "I have, perhaps, come short of my duty, because I have been so busy; not opening my head about the 'Way,' only to those who come Sabbath morning, and giving away the first tract yesterday, after being here a month."

Mr. Neesima made repeated applications to Tokyo for Dr. Wallace Taylor and Rev. D. L. Learned to reside in Kyoto, and for five months was greatly tried by the vexatious delays that were plainly the work of the vacillating governor. "Nov. 22nd, Mr. Neesima has been to see the governor several times during the last week, but always found him 'not at home.' Friday evening he called again and was told that he was too busy to see him; he

went early Saturday morning and was told that it was too early; he went a little later and was told that the governor was about to start for his office; he inquired if he could see him in the evening and was told that he could not promise; finally, he went home and yesterday received a notice to appear at the castle this morning and explain what is meant by ' Bible,' in the list of studies in the curriculum."

As a result of the Buddhist petition to Yedo, Mr. Neesima was told that the government was afraid of an uprising in Kyoto headed by the Satsuma men,[1] and that because of this and of the strong Buddhist petition that Christianity should not be allowed to be taught in the school, he was requested to not teach the Bible, directly, in the Doshisha for the present. The governor said, however, that Christianity could be taught under the name of " Moral Science," and that the Bible could be taught and preaching conducted in the houses of the professors. When this was known, the owner of the school building removed his objection to the use of his property, and the opposition was quiescent for a time.

Before Mr. Neesima's interview with the governor, Mr. Davis advised him on no account to promise not to teach the Bible in the school buildings. He urged that it was better to have no school building, or even to leave the city, than to make such a promise. Upon Mr. Neesima's return from the castle with the report that he had given his word to the governor that the Bible, for the present, should not be taught in the school building, his distress was very great. His first impulse was to pack up and leave the city, but he had signed a contract to teach only what his employers, Messrs. Neesima and Yamamoto sanctioned, and this promise, together with the fact that a little boy had been born into his home a few days before, held him

[1] " Satsuma," the powerful reactionary southern clan, which rebelled in 1877 under he leadership of General Saigo.

to his post. The Bible could still be taught in his home and Christianity in the school, under the name of Moral Science, and so with many misgivings and with the heaviest heart he had yet had in Japan, he decided to support the position of his Japanese colleague, hoping that it was God's way of opening the city.

Of this critical experience, he wrote to Boston:—"While, at the first, I would rather have cut off my right hand than have made the promise that Mr. Neesima made, yet I now incline to think it was a wiser way than to have left the city; certainly wiser than to have remained here and to have tried to go against the orders of the Governor of Kyoto and the central government. So far as I know, the mission is a unit in approving the wisdom of this course." An Osaka colleague wrote:—"Dear Mr. Davis: We are filled with surprise and anxiety by the report of the new attitude of the government toward you and the school. You have our constant sympathy and prayers. We held a special meeting for prayer in your behalf on Wednesday. We are assured that the Christ, in obedience to whose command you stand among the Kyoto people with the Gospel message, will be with you in every hour and extremity. You were doubtless wise in making the concessions which the governor requested. Having done this you stand on ground marked out by him, and are still at liberty to teach and preach the Gospel. With much love to all,

Yours truly, M. L. Gordon."

The Doshisha was formally opened on the morning of the 29th of November, at eight o'clock, in Mr. Neesima's home, with a prayer-meeting, in which all six pupils took part, after which all adjourned to the schoolhouse, where two other young men were received, making seven boarding scholars and one day scholar. "I shall never forget Mr. Neesima's tender, tearful, earnest prayer in his house

that morning as we began the school; all prayed from the heart." By the end of the first winter the number of students had increased to forty.

It became evident, as time went on, that Mr. Neesima's promise to the governor, compromising as it seemed to many, was a far-sighted action. The very existence of the school, the ability to rent a building, and the securing of the needed passports for the residence of foreign teachers in the city, depended upon the good will of Governor Makimura. This official found himself in a hard position, caught between the pressure of the immensely powerful religious parties of his city and the orders of the central government. To offend him at this juncture would have been fatal. Moreover, the fact that he had put the matter in the form of a request and not a command placed the question upon a personal basis, which was impossible to gainsay without offending the deepest instincts of Japanese courtesy.

This lesson in diplomacy, early in his life in Japan, was of the utmost value to Mr. Davis, whose nature was to face frontal attacks without compromise. He now learned how dear to the Oriental heart is the desire to "save face," and that sometimes the main issue of a question may be maintained, in spite of the sacrifice of outward forms. The governor of the city was not humiliated in the eyes of the people and remained a friend of the Doshisha, while on the other hand, the Christian school respected the wish of both central and local governments, without excluding the possibility of accomplishing its work, and with the door left open for a future satisfactory settlement of the question.

His diary of this date says: — "We certainly do not want to stir up trouble here. We can better afford to wait and work quietly, until the people find out that we are not as bad as our reputation. Two years ago such a

turn as affairs have taken would have made me very anxious, but I have partly learned one lesson since coming to Japan, viz: 'In whatsoever state I am, therein to be content, and wait God's time and His way for everything.' We labor at a great disadvantage here as soon as there is any trouble, because we do everything in the name of a Japanese."

His loyalty to Mr. Neesima throughout this critical time was absolute. He was in a position to realize the heroic service that Neesima was performing; the moral heroism involved in the single-handed fight his Japanese colleague was making against the organized opposition of a great city and the indifference of the central government. He knew well that Neesima was the pivot upon which the whole enterprise hung, and though sometimes differing with him as to the wisest means of procedure, when the die was cast, he supported him with a friendship and steadfastness that greatly strengthened Mr. Neesima's hands. He wrote on Nov. 24th: — "Mr. Neesima is chagrined at the turn affairs have taken and fears, I think, that the mission will blame him, though I see no room for it. He does not make nor rule the governors of this land." In response to a letter from Boston which questioned the wisdom of planning for a college, he wrote in the summer of 1875: "The idea of a Christian college is a part of Mr. Neesima's life. He is praying and planning about it all the time. Yet he does not want to be connected with that college. He does not even want to teach in the Training School, if he can be relieved. He wishes to give all his time to preaching the Gospel. . . . The work we have been able to do in the city is indescribably precious. The ferment caused by the priests called the attention of everybody to us, and they have been coming from all parts of the city to inquire and hear on week days and on the Sabbath. We have given away nearly two thousand tracts, contain-

ing the marrow of the Gospel, to those who have come to our houses. Over seventy were present here last Sabbath morning and over fifty at Mr. Neesima's in the afternoon. The girls in the government school, from which Mrs. Neesima was discharged, have started a daily prayer-meeting in the school."

Notwithstanding the reactionary spirit in Kyoto, the liberal attitude of the government in the country at large was already bearing fruit, and each day brought news of growing religious toleration. In one morning word of the prayer-meeting in the Government School, just cited, had been barely received, when two influential men from the northwest of the city came in, saying that they believed Christianity to be the true way, and that they and their families wanted to follow it. The postman next handed in a letter from Osaka, saying that the town of Sakai, where there had been bitter prejudice, was now having the Gospel regularly preached. A letter from Kobe related how the governor, who had formerly told the missionaries that he would have to imprison anyone selling a Bible, was now employing a Christian to preach the Gospel to the prisoners in the city gaol on the Sabbath, and to teach them during the week. Before these letters were fully read, Mr. Neesima called with an official notice from the Imperial Department of Education, stating that it had received the applications for the residence of Prof. Learned and Dr. Taylor, which had been approved and forwarded by the Governor of Kyoto. He also reported that the official in charge of the Exhibition, soon to open in Kyoto, had granted permission for Bibles to be placed on exhibition. Of that morning's experiences Mr. Davis placed in his diary: — "After hearing all this we joined in a praise service. Life here is indescribably exciting and indescribably precious. Were Japan and God's Truth going backward in the world we might get discouraged, but both are

going forward. No human power can stop them. Our happiness and joy in the work are unbounded."

In spite of these causes of rejoicing the long delay and official red tape involved in the securing of permits for the two new missionaries' residence in Kyoto were of a kind to try the patience of more patient men than the two who were holding on for reinforcements in Kyoto. Until the coming of these added teachers and this proof of the willingness of the government to put the Christian school on a permanent basis, the future was insecure. The negotiations dragged through five weary months. The Kyoto governor seemed to be fighting against time before yielding this last point. "Dec. 15th, 1875. Mr. Neesima had a long consultation with the vice-governor last night. He says that the Shinto officials are banded with the Buddhist priests to resist us in every possible way: that the Kyoto Fu is not afraid of the priests, but of a band of Satsuma men, now attached to the Kyoto Fu, who are trying to make trouble. Hence they think it unwise to make any more applications now. I advised Mr. Neesima not to urge the matter at all, but to let things rest for the present."

A little later, Mr. Davis wrote to Boston: — "Applications to the Yedo government for Dr. Taylor and Prof. Learned were made out, and the governor promised to send them to Tokyo. Waiting for several weeks without a reply, Mr. Neesima went to the castle and inquired whether the paper had gone to Yedo. He was told that the clerk had gone to Tamba with the governor, and would not be back for a week and that the governor, after keeping the papers several days, signed them and gave them to the absent clerk to forward to Tokyo, but that this clerk had lost the papers, and could not find them. There was nothing to to do but await the governor's return. Upon his return, Governor Makimura requested Mr. Neesima to prepare new copies of the application. He next had a

friendly consultation with Mr. Yamamoto, professing to be very anxious to have Christianity taught in Kyoto and to have two more foreign teachers in the school, and promised to send the applications to Yedo the next day. A full month elapsed and no word came from Yedo. Mr. Yamamoto enquired of the Governor's secretary and was told that the petitions had been sent a month before and that they were looking for the answers every day. Three weeks more elapsed and I heard through a Japanese friend in Yedo, who had enquired, that the petitions had never been received in Tokyo. Mr. Neesima then saw the governor again and was told that he never promised Mr. Yamamoto that he would send them, and that he was awaiting a favourable time to do so, and that the city would soon be open to foreigners for one hundred and fourteen days, during the Exhibition. He advised Mr. Neesima to employ Dr. Taylor and Prof. Learned in the school during this period, saying that perhaps before that expired, a favourable time to send off the petitions would come. This is the best we can do, and we must wait, trusting alone in God."

The unwavering support of the blind counsellor, Mr. Yamamoto, through all the vicissitudes of these months was a source of great encouragement and strength. Here was a man who stood like a rock in the midst of the eddies of changing political and official opinion, and openly and enthusiastically espoused the Christian movement. When this staunch friend heard of the establishment of the Girls' Normal School in Yedo with the Christian, Mr. Nakamura, at its head, he remarked: — "If this appointment was made by the Yedo government, there is no use in the Kyoto Fu trying to keep Christianity out of Kyoto any longer. In the meantime the school is flourishing and, better still, the people are anxious to hear the Truth. Nearly fifty came in a pouring rain to my house last Sab-

bath morning; the Bible and tracts are being sold; we have given away 2,000 tracts, containing the marrow of the Gospel." Dec. 14th: — "The Chiu-kyo-in, or Government Religious School, has been holding several exciting meetings to see if Doshisha cannot be stopped. The priests are doing a good deal to stir up the people. Tokuzo, our cook, waiting at an Amah's[1] to be rubbed the other day, overheard some men talking about the 'priests of the Yasokyo' (Jesus faith), who had come to Kyoto and were doing all manner of magical things, making horses talk, etc. Further, because the government had allowed this wicked thing to come to Kyoto, that one of the gods would cover up the sun for eight days, so that everything in Japan would die."

Early in December, Mr. Davis placed the first Bibles and Christian literature on sale in the city. Up to this time a few stores had kept Bibles secretly, only bringing them out when called for by purchasers. He now arranged with the principal bookstore of the city to handle a line of Bibles and tracts, and to supply from this center a number of the smaller shops of the city.

From the first winter in Kyoto, with twenty hours a week of teaching in the school, personal evangelism occupied a large place in his time and thought: — "Besides occasional lectures, I am engaged four hours each day in teaching in the school except Saturday, which I try to keep sacred to rest. Half of this is Bible teaching, the rest scientific. I try to spend an hour or two in my study every day, reviewing translations of books for the Training School, or for publication, writing for our Japanese paper, or in the study of the language; but this good intention is continually interrupted by people who come to inquire after the Truth, and whom I cannot find it in my heart to refuse to see. In the evening, after supper, while bowing

[1] Professional masseur.

around our family altar, I try to throw off the care and the thought of the great work, which I can hardly touch, upon Him, who careth for us. I spend twenty minutes or half an hour looking at the news of the month or in lighter reading or conversation, and then, generally before fashionable people are through their dinner, I begin to try to get the nine hours' sleep without which I cannot stand the strain."

Through the winter of 1875 and 1876, the prejudice against the Christian movement in Kyoto continued strong and was expressed in many ways. Although the governor had finally sent the applications for the two new missionaries' residence on to Yedo, he had been led to believe that Mr. Neesima had no other purpose in starting the Doshisha than to introduce foreign missionaries into the city to spread Christianity, and that the Doshisha was not to be a school at all, but merely a preaching place.

At the suburb of Fushimi, a prominent doctor had kindly received the Gospel, inviting the neighbors to gather to hear Mr. Neesima and Mr. Davis preach each Sabbath in his home. Finally, the city officials became very suspicious, and in December ordered the physician to appear before the Kyoto Fu and to present in writing a minute account of all that he had done and that had transpired in his house. He was told that he must not allow such gatherings at his home. All who had listened or had received tracts were also summoned to appear at the office and were closely questioned and frightened. On the last of three successive official examinations, the following conversation occurred, showing the methods of intimidation used. "This Davis came up here to teach an English school, did he not? Yes. Then he is like a man who has a license to sell deer meat, but who sells dog meat. Well, is it dog meat? I used to think so, but on tasting it, I find it is a great deal better than deer meat; but I would like

to ask you one question: — this way is taught publicly in Kobe and Osaka and in Tokyo. How is it that here in the Kyoto Fu a man is not allowed to hear it in his own house? Are we not all under the same government?" "Well," replied the official, "I do not say that way is either good or bad, and I do not say that your friends cannot hear it in your own house, but you let in the common people, who cannot understand it; we cannot allow this. We have good and sufficient religions in Japan, we do not want any more. We have Confucianism for scholars like you and Buddhism for the masses." The doctor replied: — "If Confucianism and Buddhism are all-sufficient religions, taught hundreds of years before Christ, by their founders through long lives, why is it that they have not spread beyond India and China and Japan? And if Christianity is a bad way, how is it, since its founder only taught three years, that it has spread all over the world?" "Well, we do not say that it is either bad or good, but you must not allow the people to meet at your house, and you are discharged," replied the official. The physician went directly to Mr. Davis from the city office and reported this conversation in detail. He borrowed a quantity of books and tracts, and lent them to his neighbors, but so prejudiced were the people against him that his practice gradually fell off so that he came near starvation, and, finally, lost all interest in Christianity.

The new year opened with two memorable events in the little Christian community of Kyoto. The first Christian communion ever held in the old capital took place in the missionary's home. The little band of seven or eight Christians were drawn very close together, and they publicly confessed their faith by the symbols of mystical union with their Saviour. Oyaye Yamamoto, the sister of the blind counsellor, and Merle, the two months old son, were baptized. Mr. Neesima officiated at the communion table.

On the afternoon of January third, Miss Yamamoto and Mr. Neesima were married in the presence of the students of the school, the brother and daughter of the local Daimyo and several friends of the Yamamoto family. Commenting upon this affair in a letter to the mission, Mr. Davis said:— "Mr. Neesima would, I think, have preferred to have had yesterday's doings more secret, but I overruled him. What will be the result of this and the Fushimi affair and of all our affairs, only God knows. It may prove that you have sent the wrong man up here, but if I cannot do what I do above board, and teach all that come to my house for the Truth and those who ask me to come to their homes to teach them, then I had rather leave Kyoto and Japan too, if necessary. Mr. Neesima fears that the governor will keep the applications for the two families when they are returned from Yedo and thus delay us, and I am waiting before putting Dr. Taylor's house under repair."

Toward the end of the winter the long-looked-for permits for the residence of the new families were received and the way now seemed open to put the Doshisha upon a more permanent basis.

Chapter XII

MOVING MOUNTAINS INTO THE SEA

THE story of the Doshisha is not merely a record of human achievement. There are few portions of Christian history in which the hand of God is seen working more strikingly to accomplish his gracious purposes for a nation.

We have described two lines of influence that, widely separated, had, under divine guidance, converged to create the infant Doshisha. We have seen the school opened under great opposition and in the face of mighty obstacles. We must now turn back and trace a third factor that was to enter the Doshisha to give it a stability and a quality in its earliest days which has exerted an extraordinary influence upon its whole career. Of scarcely less influence was this new factor in the life of Mr. Davis.

One morning, in February, 1876, in the darkest days of the first winter, when the opposition was so great that it seemed as though the whole enterprise must fail, a letter came to Mr. Davis from Captain L. L. Janes, a teacher in a government institution in the southern city of Kumamoto. He asked if a number of the graduates of his school could be received by the Doshisha to be prepared for the Christian ministry. Mr. Davis had never heard of the man or of the school and could scarcely believe that such a work had been accomplished without the knowledge of his mission.

In the spring of 1871, the feudal lord of Kumamoto, like many other princes in Japan, had established a school for the instruction of the youth of his province, in western science. He desired, particularly, that the foreign teacher should be a man of military spirit, so that the war-like

traditions of his clan might be maintained. He must have a foreign soldier for his school. Through the assistance of Dr. G. F. Verbeck, the pioneer missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church, Captain Janes, a retired officer of the United States Army, was secured for the Kumamoto school.

Kumamoto was among the most conservative sections of Japan, where the hatred of Christianity was intense, and where foreigners and foreign innovations were equally disliked by the masses. Captain Janes and his family were often in peril, but worked on quietly, gaining the friendship and confidence of the citizens. For three years the foreign teacher said nothing of Christianity to his students, but at the end of that time he announced that he would begin a Bible lecture, and that anyone who wished to attend would be made welcome.

As one of these students later wrote, "We still hated Christianity as if it were a snake, and did not even like to see a Bible, but we respected him so, that we all concluded to go to the lecture. . . . Of the few who attended, some went out of curiosity, others for amusement, others simply that they might oppose; none with the desire to accept Christianity. At this time, he simply taught the Bible and never exhorted us to become Christians, and when two of us thought to impose on him by pretending that we wished to become preachers, he met us sternly, saying, 'You are not yet worthy to become preachers, go on with your Bible study.' After a year of this work, a few of the students were really touched by the Gospel and the school was divided into two factions, one favorable to Christianity, the other seeking to oppose it by the learning of the Chinese sages. For about six months, we were thus divided in our admiration for Christianity and for Confucianism, studying Christianity with Captain Janes in the morning and Confucianism with the Chinese teacher in the

afternoon, but by the end of the year, all except one or two of our class were united in their belief in Christianity.

"By Captain Janes' advice, some of us spent the New Year's vacation in the study of John's Gospel and in prayer to God for his blessing upon ourselves and our classmates. When the new term opened, these Christian students had a faith that burned like fire, so that they could not but preach to their fellow-students and try to lead them to the gate of salvation. The whole school was like a boiling caldron; the studies were neglected and groups of five or six men began to study the Bible in the recitation rooms, the dining-room or in their bed-rooms. The students had but little knowledge of the Bible or Theology; they knew less about revivals or the work of the Holy Spirit, but they were impelled to preach; even though some of them were but twelve years old. We wondered why our spirits burned like a fire and why we preached the Gospel like mad men."

The result of this visitation of the power of God in the school was the conversion of forty students, while fifty others began to study the Bible. On the last Sabbath of January, 1876, the forty Christian students went out to a hill called "Hana oka yama," [1] near Kumamoto. Singing hymns as they climbed, they seated themselves upon the summit and there made a solemn covenant together, that, as they had thus been blessed of God in advance of their countrymen, they would pledge themselves for the enlightenment of the empire by preaching the Gospel, even at the sacrifice of their lives. They sealed their lofty purpose by kneeling in prayer and signing their names to the covenant paper. Thus was born the Kumamoto Band, which became one of the great forces in building Christianity in Japan.

On hearing of the Christian covenant, fierce persecution

[1] Flowery Hill.

flamed out in the school and in the city. The boys were beaten, imprisoned by their families and threatened with their lives. The school was closed and some of the students recanted their faith, but thirty stood firm under the greatest trials, although the oldest was less than twenty years of age, and not only gained the victory, but became the stronger through their persecutions.

It was in February, 1876, in the midst of this testing of his students, that Captain Janes wrote to Mr. Davis, asking if the Doshisha could receive this band of storm-tried young Christians who had pledged themselves to evangelize Japan. He was opposed to sectarianism and looked to the Doshisha to train his students, since it seemed to him to stand for Christian unity and liberal policies. "My work has been accompanied from the time it was possible to speak of Christianity," wrote Captain Janes, "by constant religious instruction of my pupils; in fact, the whole work has been inspired from the first with the aim, on my part, of making it subserve the upbuilding of the Kingdom of Christ." On March fourth, he wrote: "My boys and I have been passing through unusual events, and the mutterings of a sharp, vindictive persecution are still in the air. I think the little colony is practically intact; no lives have been taken, though that was threatened seriously, and there are no cases of 'hara kiri'[1] yet, though two parents threatened to take that method of driving their sons from the faith; their degradation was declared to be insupportable. I grieve over my imprisoned boys. The strength of one is failing and the persecutors may kill him."

To Mr. Davis he wrote, introducing the first of the Kumamoto graduates to arrive in Kyoto, "He was one of the first to see the light, to be convinced of the saving power of Christianity, and to give his heart unalterably to

[1] Suicide by disembowelling with the short sword.

Jesus, and as a consequence he was subjected to the most outrageous treatment at the hands of his brother, and has been imprisoned for 120 days. He was made a slave of the servants of the family, who were instructed to treat him as devil-possessed, without human rights. He is now practically an outcast; he is as a shorn lamb; he is leaving all."

In October, 1876, Captain Janes was notified that his services were no longer desired in Kumamoto, since it was not the purpose of the authorities to keep a school for making preachers, and it became an open question what course he should follow. Mr. Davis was deeply impressed with the work and spirit of Captain Janes and believed that his fearlessness, his burning zeal, his high scholarship and his skill in the training of Japanese young men singled him out as the man to head the new collegiate department of the Doshisha. After a visit of Captain Janes to Kyoto in the summer, he wrote earnestly to Boston and to his colleagues, urging that a man with such a record should not be allowed to slip through their fingers.

Although a large majority in the mission favored his appointment and even voted to advance his travel expenses to and from America, there were those who conscientiously objected to such use of mission funds, and this, together with complications that arose in the United States, led Captain Janes to decline to consider the whole matter.[1] This was a severe trial to Mr. Davis. The disappointment in losing such a leader for the college was keen, and equally hard to bear was, as he supposed, the reflection in Captain Janes' withdrawal of a sentiment within the mission of opposition to a collegiate department and to the school in Kyoto. There is ample evidence that the accuracy of this

[1] One of the unpublished tragedies of the Christian Movement in Japan is wrapped up in the history of this remarkable man.

His return to Japan, in 1893, as an enemy of revealed religion, and his persistent efforts to undermine the faith of the very men whom he had led into the light are well known, and cannot be overlooked in an impartial survey of his career.

interpretation of mission action was not substantiated by the facts, and the incident illustrates a tendency in his sensitive nature which made it difficult for him to understand the motives of those whom a more judicial temperament impelled to question his policies.

The leaders of the Board in Boston now generally approved the college plan, but were anxious lest the high Christian purpose of the school should be weakened through its development into a full collegiate institute. To Dr. Clark, who not only expressed doubt regarding the entrance of non-Christian young men into the Doshisha, but urged that only candidates for the ministry be received, he replied in no uncertain tones, "We are going to start a school with a course of study arranged for the training of men for the ministry. We plan to aid these young men, as far as we wisely can, by giving them work to do. In a great life center like Kyoto, where the Truth enters in the name of this school for the first time, shall we limit the Doshisha to the half dozen Christian young men who will come in? Especially when the governor of the city is willing that the Truth be taught to everybody, and when young men are coming to us every month from a distance, where as yet no missionary has ever been, asking to be taught so that they may return and teach their townsmen? The stones, the rocks and all the inanimate things in Japan would cry out 'No' to such an idea.

"We plan to receive all young men of good character who will come and pursue our course of study and pay for their board, up to the limit of our building, and we will take all others who are willing to rent rooms elsewhere and come in as day pupils."

To a member of the Prudential Committee who suggested that the candidates for the ministry be sent to the government colleges for their scientific training, he wrote: "To send our young men to government schools, nine-tenths

of whose graduates become officials and most of them infidels, will not secure this end. Students who pursue the full course of the present Doshisha will not have as much of science as the government requires of teachers of common schools. It is all well to give Bible training, only, to certain men whose hearts are on fire with the love of Christ, and send them out to work, but zeal, alone, cannot convert Japan. Is it too much to give the pastors who are to grapple with the progressive spirit of this empire during the next fifty years as much knowledge of science as is required of common school teachers? We cannot do this without following our present course.

"We propose nothing more in a college, at first, than the division of the courses, — the scientific department placed under a man like Captain Janes. This will not only release some of us who have been teaching these secular subjects, and thus add largely to our effective force, but it will form a beginning of what will be for all coming time, — a Christian college. At the same time we must have a school whose every teacher will feel that the one thing, the great thing, without which all others are nothing, is the leading of the pupil to Christ; a school where each teacher will labor and pray for this each day and hour; where they will, as Captain Janes does, teach Christianity with the problems of Euclid. It is only from such a school that we shall secure Christian young men for the work of the ministry in Japan."

The winter and spring of 1876 had seen a steady gain in the hold of Christianity upon the city of Kyoto. June 30th he wrote, "We have now six preaching places and five Sunday schools in different centers of the city and over five hundred people hear the Gospel every Sabbath. We fixed 180 seats in our house for last Sabbath's services and most of them were filled. We have an inquiry meeting at our house every Monday evening. This week ten were

present and all prayed. We expect to organize a Church in the early fall." At the annual mission meeting held in Osaka, May 30th, it was decided to put up a dormitory and a recitation building upon the land owned by the Doshisha. These were erected during the summer and were ready for use by the opening of the fall term. The mission was, as a whole, in hearty sympathy with the new school, but the obvious difficulties in the way of operating the institution in a city where foreigners had no property or residence rights appeared to some a reason for questioning the maintenance of the Doshisha in Kyoto. Moreover, the exclusion of the Bible from the buildings owned by the school, even though Bible classes could be held in the adjoining building, rented in Mr. Neesima's name, and in the homes of the missionaries, seemed to others a concession to government authority which nullified the Christian purpose and influence of the Doshisha. Anxieties and criticisms were freely expressed in more than twenty letters addressed to Mr. Davis during the summer.

This opposition, though in most cases less intense than he supposed and expressed more in the form of negative doubts than as positive convictions, aroused him to an unprecedented degree. If he accepted more than his share of the responsibility for meeting such criticism, and felt unduly that he stood alone in his defence of the Doshisha and of the Kyoto position, we can hardly wonder, as we consider the extent to which he stood pledged to it and its policies. He had just passed through the birth travails of an infant school; he had for ten months been braced to meet the attacks of enemies who threatened its existence; he had staked all upon holding the position to which his mission had assigned him. The fact that he had taken no step beyond that authorized by his mission, and the consciousness that he saw eye to eye with his colleagues,

Messrs. Learned and Neesima, were sources of strength and he went resolutely ahead.

There had, however, been so many doubts expressed, some of which were based upon misconceptions of the facts, that he addressed a general letter to the mission. "Kyoto, Sept. 15th, 1876. We are to dedicate our new Training School buildings next Monday morning, the 18th, at ten o'clock. We should be glad if those who hear of it in time, and who have faith enough left in the project, would pray with us and for us and for the Doshisha at that time. . . . The mission owns these buildings in the name of Japanese. In one is a dormitory; in another the principal theological branches are to be taught and morning prayers held; in the third we will teach exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, with the consent of the proprietors of the school and the authorities, for I found all the Japanese lions were chained when I came down from Hieizan[1] yesterday. Does the fact that two of these buildings are owned in the name of five Japanese[2] (the Doshisha Trustees), and that one is owned in the name of one Japanese (Mr. Neesima), alter the fact that the Training School is held in them? Is not the school a unit just as truly as if the buildings were all held in the name of five Japanese, or all in the name of one Japanese?[2] Are the buildings the school at all? Socrates did not think so; our Saviour did not think so when he trained his disciples; the founders of Yale College and of many other colleges and seminaries at home did not think so.

"And yet we are told that we have no Training School; that, as a mission, we could be brought to task for obtaining money and using it under false pretenses; then the movement in Kyoto is likened to the Charge of the Light

[1] "Hieizan," a famous mountain east of Kyoto, formerly the stronghold of thousands of militant Buddhist priests.

[2] At this time, no property outside of the limited concessions of the treaty ports could be owned by a foreigner. It had to be registered in the name of a Japanese and legally became the property of the party in whose name it was registered.

Brigade, when 'Somebody blundered.' There is, I confess, some aptness in this illustration; but we are worse off than the 'Six Hundred' were. They had not cannon behind them until they turned to retreat, but we have. . . . If the Light Brigade had taken the ramparts on three sides of them, and spiked the cannon, it would not have been said that 'Somebody blundered.' This is what we are doing and expect to do. To the soldier, a fire in the rear is most demoralizing, but when it comes from the mission that ordered us forward, you should not be surprised that it affects us."

He then reviewed the mission decisions which had founded and sustained the Doshisha in Kyoto and had assigned him to that work. He pointed out that, in March it had approved the retention of the school in Kyoto and the placing of two more families there, even though the Bible was temporarily excluded from the curriculum; further, that the mission had unanimously voted to put up the new buildings upon this basis.

The letters were sent out, there was a general withdrawal of objections and the dedication took place, as Mr. Davis had planned, Monday, the 18th of September. He wrote of this occasion: "It was the day of my life. The Grand Review at Washington was tame compared to this. The tempest in the teapot rapidly subsided, and now our school is moving quietly along. Our bell is an old Buddhist temple bell[1] and as it rings out its minor strains in front of the great temples near by, it must awaken peculiar sensations in some hearts."

The young men from Kumamoto, who now formed nearly half the school, were disappointed with what they found. The Doshisha was poorly equipped and differently organized from the Kumamoto school. Some of them talked of

[1] After a short time the police objected to the ringing of this bell, because of the resemblance of its tones to a fire alarm, and the school classes were called together by the wooden clappers, used by night watchmen on their rounds.

going away. Captain Janes, now teaching in Osaka, visited Kyoto in December and met his old students in Mr. Davis' home. He advised them to be patient and, if the Doshisha was not satisfactory, to remain in it and make it what they wished it to become. He told them that the men and women of the American Board Mission were among the best in the United States, and that they had the prayers of earnest Christians in America behind them. They all remained.

The fifteen men of the graduating class were without funds and were given teaching in the lower classes, which they carried along with their theological work. "These fifteen students were the culled men in a class of seventy who had entered Captain Janes' school five years before. All the others had fallen out, and these men, alone, had persisted through to graduation. It was no easy task to teach them, especially Theology. Mr. Neesima assisted in the teaching. Mr. Learned, also, was from the first an efficient teacher, while Mr. Doane,[1] and Dr. Taylor taught part time. I had most of the theological teaching to do. I made it a rule to speak English out of the classroom and Japanese in the classroom. This was a disappointment to the Kumamoto men, who had always been taught in English by Captain Janes. I felt, however, that they needed to learn these great truths, which they were to preach to the masses, in their own language, and so persisted in using it. They cared nothing for the consensus of opinion of the Christian Church; they looked at Christian Truth for the first time and from an Asiatic standpoint. I gave them a synopsis of my lectures in Theology in English, and then went into it more in detail in the vernacular. I gave them about half the time to ask questions and to discuss among themselves. . . . They asked

[1] Rev. E. T. Doane, a missionary of the American Board in Ponape, Micronesia, spent two years in Japan for the purpose of regaining his health.

me questions, every day, which I had never thought of before, and the three years in which I had them as pupils were years of the most intense study for me. . . . They had been prejudiced against the study of Theology by their old teacher and there was a great deal that they would not accept. I tried to be patient with them, but looking back upon those years, it seems a miracle that we were able to hold them all until graduation."

Mr. Davis was early impressed with the wonderful opportunity presented by women's education in Japan. He had earnestly urged the American Board to open the Kobe Girls' School, which later became Kobe College, and on going to Kyoto it was his desire to see a fully equipped women's department in the Doshisha. In July, 1875, while waiting for an official permit to enter Kyoto, he wrote to Boston: — "The work for women in Japan must be done by women. Miss Dudley's work in Sanda and the villages around shows what women can do in preaching the Gospel. Mr. Yamamoto told me the other day, in Kyoto, that they would be glad to have a Christian Girls' School opened there at once. No woman's ambition could rise higher than some of these openings which are waiting here." He felt the need of Christian homes for the pastors and leaders in the Christian communities. "There is a harvest going to waste among the women of this city. The Gospel is being preached in over fifty different places by men, but it is a terribly one-sided affair. These very young men have just come out of heathenism, in which most of their mothers and sisters remain. Preachers are just beginning to see that the Gospel is for all, male and female, but they do not know how to reach the women of this city, and did they know how, the usages of society are such that they could not do it. Schools for girls as well as for men are a 'sine qua non'; without them we cannot train the men and women who are to evangelize the nation. There

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should be vigorous boarding schools for girls in Kobe, Osaka and Kyoto; but the location of our Training School in Kyoto . . . makes the establishment of such a school here of the first importance."

The Doshisha Girls' School was opened early in February, 1877, in Mr. Davis' home, by Miss Starkweather and Mrs. Neesima. The hundred rooms of the dilapidated palace occupied by the missionary family were well adapted for a school. The daughter of a nobleman, a brother of the Sanda Daimio, who had been a regular attendant at the Sabbath services, became the first student of the school. With the growth of the Christian community in Kyoto, the number of pupils gradually increased, until twenty were living in the old "yashiki," under the care of Miss Starkweather, who mothered the girls in her own rooms, sleeping and eating with them. Many applications for admission arising from extreme destitution among the Christians could not be refused. Secretary Clark was inclined to consider the care of so many poor girls a perilous venture. Mr. Davis, however, warmly supported Miss Starkweather's course. "If we wait for the sons and daughters of the rich to be sent to our schools to be converted, and in turn go out to convert this nation, we shall wait till the opportunity is past. We have now in our home a Girls' School, of five day pupils and as many boarders. Last summer two poor men who had become interested in the Truth died asking that their children might be brought up as Christians. In each family was a daughter. The mothers were very poor and asked us to take these children and educate them, the mothers furnishing clothes and we furnishing food and teaching. Just then, one of the Kumamoto students, a boy fourteen years old, came, saying that his father, a drunkard, had run away with all the family effects and that his mother and seven sisters under eighteen years of age were cast off and in a

starving condition. He was earning five yen a month for their support and his classmates were contributing from their poverty two yen more. Here was God's call to go forward. Our hands went into our pockets and two of the sisters were helped to enter the school. This full explanation to the Board elicited, unsought, a fund for use in both schools for indigent worthy students.

A wearisome search for a building site for the Girls' School was met for two years with constant opposition and suspicion from officials and land owners, but a tract of five acres was finally bought, not far from the Doshisha. The land had to be purchased in the name of a lumber merchant who lived upon it, and it was owned in his name until after the school buildings were erected.

Toward the end of 1876 the first churches were organized in Kyoto. The fifty-nine Christians were divided into three groups, centering in different parts of the city, the idea being in this way to magnify the responsibility of each member and to diffuse the influence of the Christian movement. The First Church of Christ of Kyoto was formed with fifteen members, on November 26th, in Mr. Learned's home, facing the imperial park. Mr. Davis chose as the theme of his sermon on this occasion the prophetic vision of the swelling tide of the river of Ezekiel (Ezekiel 47), a text which he used thirty-one years later, at Arima, for his last Mission Meeting sermon.

December first, 1876, he wrote of the wonderful progress of the year: — "It is now a year since we opened our Training School with eight scholars and a regular Sabbath preaching service with six hearers. We have now, beside Mr. Neesima, four mission families with permission to remain more than one year. We have had the privilege of telling the Story of the Cross to more than a thousand people, who have come by ones and twos to our homes, and of preaching to crowds on the Sabbath. We have

erected buildings for the Training School and have them filled with seventy young men, more than half of whom are earnest Christians, preparing for Christian work. They are preaching in forty different places in this great city and in two out-stations, seven miles away. On the twenty-sixth of November we organized the First Church of Kyoto, with fifteen students entering into covenant. Yesterday, another church was organized, with nine students and twelve city people uniting on profession, while next Sabbath, in still another center, a third church will start with an initial membership of twenty. On the twentieth we are to have a praise service, inviting all the Christians in this part of Japan to meet with us. Forty-five of our sixty-five students are earnest Christians, thirteen heard the Truth here for the first time and nineteen were converted in Captain Janes' school. We have also the beginnings of a girls' school. Surely the Lord hath done great things whereof we are glad. I am holding an inquiry meeting, every Monday night, in the home of the ex-Daimio of Tamba, who lives in this city. He prayed in public for the first time last evening. We hope to organize a church there soon, and another at a center where Dr. and Mrs. Taylor are working."

With all the uncertainties of the position in Kyoto, and the chances of a reaction which might at any moment wreck the school and drive it out of the city, he continued to have confidence in the intentions and ability of the imperial government to hold to the program of progress which it had begun. In replying to fears expressed by Dr. Clark lest Japan was undergoing a reaction against civilization, he wrote in November, 1876: — "I am surprised that you consider the political situation unsettled in Japan and in Kyoto. This government had been steadily growing stronger for eight years. It has introduced the post-office, telegraph, railroad, and lines of steamers to bind the

country together, and has suppressed every attempt at insurrection. It has conquered China in a bloodless war and has opened Korea. It has just issued an order for the capitalization of the incomes of the Samurai class, giving bonds for a few years' income at once, thus greatly relieving the country. The fact that the government dared to issue this order is one proof of its strength. It is like granite to sand, compared with Turkey, and if Tilden is elected President of the United States, we will consider the Japanese government more likely to be stable than the American. The reaction, of which you speak, is not apparent here. The opposition met in Kyoto was natural. The fact that we have secured permission to open the school and for three families to reside here, although the government has known of the opposition and has feared an insurrection, so that prominent men have been arrested on suspicion in the city, all winter, shows that it has a strong hand. Japan begins, by government order, on April first, 1876, to keep the Christian Sabbath. I have said, again and again, the nation cannot go back; it is going ahead in real progress, faster and faster every year."

Notwithstanding this optimistic view, during those first years in Kyoto, the opposition of the city government to the Doshisha was expressed in every possible way. Passports for new teachers were repeatedly refused or delayed upon some trifling pretext. If a foreign teacher unwittingly broke a rule or petty law, Mr. Neesima was called to the castle,[1] to be scolded or fined. Building permits, property contracts, and residence extensions were denied or so long delayed as to seriously cripple the work. Finally, land for the Girls' School, toward which three thousand dollars had been given, could not be found, so great was the prejudice against selling to anyone connected with Christianity.

In the midst of these critical days, the order came from

[1] The seat of the city government.

the Kyoto castle that all houses surrounding the Imperial Palace should be torn down to make room for a public park. The old "yashiki," housing the missionary's family and the Girls' School, must come down with the rest. No house in the city could be rented; money would scarcely be voted by the mission "ad interim" for a permanent house to be built in Kyoto. "Wife and I prayed over the matter all summer and, finally, in September, our minds were made up to build. We did not know where we could get land nor where the money was coming from, but we determined to go as far as we could and to trust the Lord for the rest. I had seventy-six dollars in the United States, and I ordered that sent on. We lived as economically as possible, buying but little, sending to San Francisco for no supplies that fall, thus saving all the salary that we could. We did not dare look for land, but hearing of a lot for sale west of the park, and finding a two-story house for rent opposite this lot, I asked to see the house and went upstairs where I could look over into the lot which was for sale. I saw that it was large enough to put a house upon, and found a carpenter who was willing to buy it and hold it for the school. The house was begun in October, finished in February and cost, all told, seven hundred and fifty dollars." [1]

The new home was of ample size, simply planned, and built of the cheapest possible material, with every cost reduced to a minimum. It not only provided a comfortable home for the family, but became a favorable center for evangelistic work for the neighborhood. The seal of God's blessing was placed upon this home from the beginning. "We opened a Sabbath School in our house in the early evening, followed by a preaching service. This went on for three years, and with the exception of the room

[1] This house was later purchased from Mr. Davis by the American Board and became the property of the Mission.

where the children slept, every room in the house, including the pantry, was often occupied by a class. One hundred and thirty, and more, assembled in the dining and sitting rooms to hear the preaching."

At a time when the future of the Doshisha was hanging in the balance, the building of this home went far toward giving a stability to the enterprise in the eyes of both the mission and the Japanese officials. The steadfast determination of the missionary, who not only believed in the school to the extent of putting up a permanent home, but paid for it from his own slender resources, convinced the Japanese of the futility of further resistance.

At the mission meeting at Arima, in the summer of 1878, the well-worn roots of the Doshisha plant were again exhumed for examination. The two wings of the mission, the one in favor of entire self-support, the other advocating complete mission control of the school, again combined to question the further holding of Kyoto. Outwardly, the situation had not improved; permits for extensions of residence had been refused; Mr. Doane had left Japan; Dr. Taylor, who had been forbidden to practice medicine in Kyoto, since his passport allowed teaching but not medical practice, had left the city and had settled in Osaka. Messrs. Learned and Davis were the only missionaries that were left in Kyoto. But through those previous months of cumulative difficulty and in the face of the rising tide of discouragement over the Kyoto situation in the mission, the faith of those two men in the ultimate outcome of the enterprise remained unshaken. Their confidence in their advisers and colleagues in the Doshisha had been growing; they had been learning the temper of the Japanese officials, and, more than all else, their belief that the Doshisha was in God's hands, and that, in time, the "divine Factor" would accomplish, in its own way, what the human factor could not do, continued immovable.

Of the Arima meeting, he wrote: "I well remember the moment when the Committee on Schools called Mr. Learned and me out, separately, and talked with us, Mr. Learned first, and then myself. The committee asked if I thought it wise to try to hold Kyoto. I replied by telling the story of the fight at Allatoona Pass, in the Civil War, where one brigade of our division, under General Corse, placed in a little fort to guard the stores of Sherman's Army, met the assaults of ten thousand of Hood's forces for six hours, and when in the midst of the carnage, with more than half of the Union force lying dead in the trenches, General Sherman signalled from the top of Kennesaw Mountain, twenty miles away: — 'Hold the fort, for I am coming,' General Corse signalled back: — 'I have one arm and one jaw left, and can whip all Hell yet.' I told them that was the way I felt about Kyoto, and asked if they had any more questions to ask. They said: — 'No,' and I retired."

It is not surprising that a man of such a spirit should have been misunderstood and criticised by less intense and more cautious colleagues. Though unfair motives and methods were laid at his door by a few, a majority of the mission admired the spirit which was holding Kyoto, and recognizing the rapid advances of the Gospel and the facts of progress to which the Kyoto station pointed, decided that it was best to hold on. This question was never opened again.

Chapter XIII

THE UPPER AND NETHER MILLSTONES

THROUGH the formative years of the Christian movement in Japan the problem of the self-support of the Japanese Church was a generally controverted issue. There were two widely contrasted policies advocated among the workers in Japan.

On one side it was held that in order to develop independence, self-reliance and the spirit of self-sacrifice among Japanese Christians, no foreign money beyond the payment of the missionaries' salaries should be spent by the American Board. It was urged that such a policy, while not producing immediate large returns in institutions and converts, would, in the long run, lay foundations of efficiency, self-propagation and of spiritual power in the Japanese Church. Not a single church should be put up with foreign money; better to wait until the members had saved the funds needed to build; not a pastor or evangelist should be placed on a salary guaranteed from outside sources; not a school building or a teacher's wage should be made possible by foreign gold. Small beginnings but sure foundations was the admirable motto of this wing of the mission. To vindicate this policy the Osaka Church,[1] built up to entire independence through the faith and heroic efforts of the Osaka missionaries and Christians, was justly pointed to as an illustration of what the theory of pure self-support could accomplish.

The position of the other extreme, representing a small but aggressive minority, was to hold every phase of the Japanese work in the hands of the mission. It was op-

[1] To Rev. Paul Sawayama, and Rev. Horace Leavitt, is due, in large part, the credit of this splendid example of an indigenous Japanese church of these early days.

posed to joint ownership of buildings, cooperative proprietorship or management of schools, or the giving of any measure of independence to Japanese churches. Such was the Scylla and Charybdis between which the bark of the Kumi-ai Church was piloted through those eventful years; such the upper and nether millstones of conviction between which not only the Doshisha, but all work of the American Board, was forced to pass.

However, a majority of the mission held middle ground. They believed that the church should be sustained and guided through the formative period until a sense of its own powers and needs had been reached, and that the control and leadership should be passed over to the Japanese as fast as they were able to accept such responsibilities.

The urgency of the present hour for evangelizing Japan appealed to Mr. Davis with overwhelming power and he naturally leaned toward a strong financial support of the American Board's work. His vivid imagination, his sensitive appreciation of the infinite value of the individual soul, and his conviction of the imminent peril of unsaved men, gave him scant patience with a policy that minimized the church's immediate duty to save the men and women about him who were without Christ. He wrote; "Oh, I am sometimes overcome with a perfect rush of feeling as I look about me at these surging millions who are going down without a knowledge of Him who is mighty to save. It comes upon me with crushing weight and prevents rest day and night." With this sense of swiftly passing opportunity, however, was an appreciation of a comprehensive program of self-support. He believed in helping needy students, but never without an equivalent of service rendered; he favored helping churches in the support of pastors upon a diminishing scale of subsidy; the supplementing of the resources of the Home Missionary society by sending out evangelists when the Japanese funds failed. Though

admiring the spirit of the self-supporting Girls' School in Osaka, be believed that the Japanese resources available for the necessary educational program were insufficient. "Get all the money you can for these schools from the Japanese," he said, "but do not wait for that. If you do, it is like refusing to sow the seed because you cannot reap enough seed from ground which has never yet been sown to sow other fields."

At the annual mission meeting of 1877, Mr. Davis read a paper upon the subject of self-support, in the hope of bringing the mission to a united policy. . . . "In considering the various objects connected with evangelization, the use of foreign money will mainly depend on three questions: First: Is this an object which, like the pastorate, is to be continuous, or is it temporary? Second: Is it an object which, like the pastorate, is broad, i.e., which will be found wherever the Gospel goes in the empire, or is it an individual case, or does it represent a limited number of cases? Third: Is it an object which, like the pastorate, directly concerns a particular church, or is it more general? It is of the first importance to put the objects which have length, breadth and directness upon our churches as fast as possible. Other objects which, like our own salaries, have not these qualities are the last which should be urged upon the churches. In addition to these are some objects for which money is needed that have only one or two of these dimensions."

Then follows an enumeration of such objects, viz., general evangelistic work, Bible and tract work, support of needy students and teachers in schools, medical work, etc. Finally, objects having neither of the dimensions, as the newspaper, mission school buildings, salaries of foreigners in schools, endowments, salaries of the teachers of missionaries, and salaries and houses of missionaries. "Foreign money can be used for the last six objects, with less detriment than

if used for churches, pastors, individual church, mission and out-station work. It seems unwise to so press any of the last objects upon the churches as to prevent their furnishing the necessary means for their individual growth. . . . In other words, let us press upon our churches the assumption of those objects which have three dimensions with the greatest urgency, those with two dimensions next, and so on."

He presented the following resolutions to the mission for consideration: "I. Resolved: That each congregation be led, at the earliest moment, to support a pastor, to pay the rent on its chapel, to build its own church, to pay the incidental expenses of its meetings and the cost of its own mission work, and to aid its own young men and women, who are in Bible training schools. II. Resolved: That the churches be urged to organize a Missionary society for sending evangelists to places not yet occupied, and to contribute as liberally as possible to that work. . . . V. Resolved: That the churches assume the work of the preparation and circulation of Gospel tracts, and also the circulation of the Scriptures through this part of the empire, as soon as possible. VII. Resolved: That each church should be urged to contribute money to aid in the education for Christian work of young men and women, other than those connected with its own membership, and toward the running expenses of the Doshisha, beginning with the salaries of the Japanese teachers, said funds to be in charge of and disbursed by the Doshisha Company, so that, as soon as possible, the churches may assume the whole responsibility for the running expenses of the school, except the salaries of the foreign teachers."

The mission adopted these resolutions, in part; Japanese Home Missionary Society was established and the Doshisha Company organized as outlined, and, although it was too early to act upon some of the measures relating to

the full independence of churches, the paper became the base line upon which the mission, as a whole, built through the succeeding years.

Neither of the extreme wings of the mission was satisfied with the financial program presented in this paper. There was strong opposition to the provision for helping needy students and for subsidizing evangelism. There were at this time only a few weak churches, struggling to maintain their position; the work was opening in every direction by leaps and bounds; there were many calls for evangelists and many places where the people would gladly hear, yet in the succeeding year it was voted to use no foreign money to support theological students or to pay evangelists.

In the Doshisha was a class of fifteen young men, the group from Kumamoto, nearly ready to graduate, and eager to consecrate themselves to evangelizing their people. A member of the Home Missionary Committee met the class and told them that the society could support only two of them. Mr. Davis wrote: "The class came to me in great trouble. We spent an hour praying and talking over the matter, and I finally told them that I was sure that the Lord would provide some way for them to preach the Gospel, to trust Him and go ahead. I promised to divide my last crust with them, before they should fail to carry out the purpose of their lives. I had no idea, however, how the problem was to be solved. After praying over the matter for a few days, I wrote a letter to the Board, telling the exact facts. I did not criticise the mission or suggest any way out of the difficulty. In a month the mission had a cablegram from Boston: — 'Hold young men for work; await letter.' In another month the letter came, appointing the five men first on the field as a committee, to oversee evangelistic work, and sending two thousand dollars for this committee to use for that work." It seemed to Mr.

Davis as if a voice had spoken to him from Heaven and he was thoroughly amazed at the results of his letter.

Dr. Clark wrote that the Prudential Committee, on receipt of his letter, had been greatly troubled and had taken this action to save to the work the first graduating class of the Doshisha. The mission was naturally disturbed that the board should act upon the advice of one of its number, without first seeking to learn the views of the mission as a whole, but the committee was organized, the instructions of the Board followed, and it was decided to go ahead cautiously and to write a mild letter of protest to Boston.

A man of intense feeling and glowing convictions, Mr. Davis had, to a remarkable degree, the power of kindling the fires of his convictions in others. But his enthusiasms were usually balanced by the array of hard facts which, rather than sentiment, became his final court of appeal. Few men could feel so deeply, retain a balanced judgment, and marshal evidence with such telling effect. In the face of the serious retrenchment in the work of the mission, caused by the panic of 1873 and the subsequent years of financial depression, he wrote early in 1878, to Dr. Clark: — "I do not judge the action of the Board; reduction was doubtless necessary. However, I do not believe in sending a large army to the front, feeding, clothing and paying them, but making their number so large that next to nothing is left for ammunition. I have myself, as a soldier, been put upon half rations of food and even, for a short time, upon no rations, but I never before saw an army in the field put upon half rations of ammunition. Frequently eighty, or even one hundred and twenty, rounds were issued to each man, instead of the usual forty, but never five or twelve rounds to a man, in front of the enemy in a great campaign. Better it would be to recall some of us to work at the commissariat, so that enough funds may be left for

the rest of the work. It is only as I look up that I see light."

Another example of his unusual power of appeal occurred the next year, when the Board was forced to reduce its allowances to Japan to the point of cutting down every branch of the work. He wrote an article for the "Advance," describing the critical nature of the situation and stating that he had sent in his resignation to the Board, in order that his salary might be applied to help save the work unless some other means were found. This letter brought an instant and striking response. A man in moderate circumstances in Illinois sent $500. Another sent ten dollars which he had been saving to use for visiting his children. Still another aged farmer wrote:—(sic) "I red your letter in the 'Advance,' and have gave it some thought and the result is I send you $100.00 to lay out in your Master's service. You are not accountable to any one but your Master how you lay it out. I had a little laid past for the rainy day, but I thought best to use this now and trust God for the future." When asked to let the money go through the Boston Treasurer, he said:—"I had intended the money to be sent to Mr. Davis as he felt best on financial affairs; it might help show him the Lord will provide. He can unlock the hearts of men; He opens and none can shut. Now I leave it with you to act for the Master, for this is a donation to Mr. Davis." This money, placed in the hands of the station, was instrumental in saving considerable work already begun in the districts around Kyoto.

His diary makes frequent mention of the amazing ways in which the Truth was spreading. "I went yesterday to Otsu, at the request of a judge whom I had casually met, to speak to a group of twenty lawyers. We had a most interesting interview of two hours. They want to hear the Gospel every Sabbath. Six months ago Mr. Neesima

sent some tracts to the prisoners in the provincial gaol at Otsu. One man became greatly interested and taught the rest. A few days ago a fire broke out in the prison, and instead of trying to escape, as usual, the prisoners helped to put out the fire. The wardens inquired the cause of such strange conduct, and on being told it was the spirit of Christianity, released the man who had taught the others and asked for more such books for the prisoners." The released man devoted himself to work for ex-convicts, establishing a school for unfortunates, in which Messrs. Neesima and Davis gave regular Christian instruction for some time. "One of our students sent a copy of Martyn's 'Evidences of Christianity' and a year's subscription to our paper to a group of teachers who live over six hundred miles north of Kyoto. They were Confucian materialists. Now they say that they are Christians and plead for a missionary to come to teach and baptize them." The young men who have been learning English in the anti-Christian school are beginning to come around us, apparently gratified that they are received kindly at our house, and I think we shall have quite a class of them next term in 'Line upon Line,' perhaps, making the wrath of man to praise the Lord through some of them."

The last official opposition to the teaching of the Bible in the Doshisha occurred during the spring of 1879. One morning two officials of the Kyoto-Fu visited the class in Theology, which was studying the New Testament with Mr. Davis. After listening a few minutes one of the officers took the Bible from Mr. Davis, looked at the title, handed it back and went away. Soon after, Mr. Neesima was called to the governor's office and asked why he was allowing the Bible to be taught in the school. He replied that he did not know of any other system of morality equal to that which the Bible contained, and that he wished to found his school on the best moral system.

The Kyoto-Fu, at this time, instructed the mayors of the city wards to advise the people to keep away from preaching places and the houses of the missionaries, since they had religions of their own which were good enough. But in spite of these eddies in the current, the permission for a five-year extension of Mr. Learned's passport and the granting of that of Dr. Gordon was proof of the firm support of the central government. Commenting upon the action of the city mayors, Mr. Davis said: — "Some will be afraid and stay away, some will laugh and some will have their curiosity awakened to come and listen, and the Truth, as it is in Jesus, will go on conquering and to conquer. . . . There is reason to believe that we have seen our darkest days here."

As the time drew near for the Kumamoto band to graduate, they earnestly requested to be ordained to the ministry together, as a fitting culmination of their seven years of fellowship. Mr. Davis firmly, but sympathetically, opposed this course. He believed that the disparity of numbers between the ordained pastors in the field and this large class would make the work appear that of the mission, rather than of the Japanese church. He felt the necessity of showing the school, the churches and the non-Christian Japanese that the movement was essentially a Japanese movement, and not one superimposed from abroad. He urged patience and the policy of waiting for the call of some local church before ordination.

One unforeseen result of the strong evangelistic policy followed from Kyoto and the Doshisha as a center was the phenomenal growth of groups of Christians, near and far, who desired to be organized into churches, before men were ready to minister to them. In a majority of cases groups of believers did not realize their need of pastors, and a situation somewhat analogous to the early church of the Roman Empire arose. The people had never

seen a ministry; in places, even, all the members of a Christian band felt called upon to preach; why should they have a pastor? They had found Christ and banded together without one; why cooperate with the Doshisha in using its men? Churches without pastors were the rule, in this period; those with regularly ordained pastors the exception. It was a situation which required the patience and resourcefulness of all concerned. "If we could get the example before the people and before the young men in our school, of half a dozen active, successful pastors who are supported by their churches, I should almost feel as if we had passed through Jordan to possess the Promised Land."

To meet this difficulty, as well as to provide for the training of lay workers and pastors already in the field who were without formal training, a three months' course in the vernacular was arranged. This offered biblical instruction, the rudiments of Theology, Church History and Homiletics, with special courses aimed at meeting the practical difficulties experienced by this class of men. The plan proved a great success and, while not detracting in the least from the dignity of the full theological curriculum, largely increased the efficiency of many older workers who lacked a thorough education. Other obvious advantages were the quickening of the spiritual life of the Doshisha through the presence of such earnest men; the emphasis which their presence placed upon the importance of preparation for the ministry; the opening of the eyes of the churches to the need of trained pastors and evangelists; the bringing of the Doshisha prominently before all the churches and giving them a proprietary interest in the school, and, finally, in satisfying those critics of the Doshisha who objected to the elaborate preparation in English and Science required of its graduates. Mr. Davis was jubilant over the success of this vernacular course: "The

eagerness of these twenty men to get all they can of the truth in three months is indescribable. Seven of us are doing all that is possible for them in school and out. I feel it a great honor and privilege to teach this class."

The first commencement exercises of the Doshisha were held in the little chapel of the first building, improvised by throwing together two recitation rooms. All the mission and many members of neighboring churches and friends of the school were present. Each of the graduating class of fifteen presented an essay or an oration. Mr. Davis had no part in the exercises, but busied himself all day with seating guests and receiving strangers. Mr. Yamamoto made the graduating address, while Mr. Neesima, as president of the school, presented the diplomas.

Mr. Davis' relationship to the young men of this class, who had been placed in his charge by Captain Janes, was unusually close. For three years he had given them the best of the powers of his mind and heart. He had wrestled for them in long hours of supplicatory prayer, that they might be held to the fundamentals of the Truth. He had wrestled with them in the classroom and in his study over the main theological dogmas; together they had searched the Scriptures for light upon questions that troubled them. He had opened his heart and his home to them, as a father or elder brother, lavishing a wealth of sympathy, counsel and friendship upon them, as a group and as individuals, that had cemented them to him with more than ordinary bonds. He was proud of these men; proud of the spirit they had shown, of their history and of their manifest ability.

However, trained in the broad, independent atmosphere of the Kumamoto school and having entered the Christian life with scant acquaintance or respect for theological dogma, creed or history, it was inevitable that these bold, inquiring minds should chafe under the New England theology given them by their enthusiastic teacher. A

majority of the class differed absolutely, from Mr. Davis, on not a few of the truths which he considered fundamental.

Many are the stories that have come down from these days of the conflicts which took place in the little theological building, "standing in the middle of a mulberry field." The subject of the Atonement was the occasion of a prolonged debate between the foreign teacher and his fifteen theological students. One of them, today a leading Tokyo pastor, says: — "One day we came into a debate with Dr. Davis on the Atonement; no matter how minutely he argued he could not convince us. He threw himself very earnestly into this debate, which lasted thirty days, praying and studying every night over the matter. Argument upon argument we met; theory after theory we refuted. Finally, though we did not change our opinion, we finished the discussion by mutually agreeing that Christ devoted his life to men as a mother to her children. At the end of this discussion Mr. Davis became ill. Yet with all these disputes and arguments, the affection between teacher and student increased day by day and lasted their long lifetime."

Another student of the same class says: — "I did not consent entirely to his theological standpoint, nor did I have much interest in the attitude of his lecturing, but his vivid face charmed my heart. When he explained Christ's death for humanity, his face was shining and his eyes were wet with tears. Therefore I felt that his lectures did not come from his brain, but from his heart. His theology, indeed, was with blood and tears."

When a friend expressed surprise that he had not been able to guide more successfully the Kumamoto Band into orthodox paths, Dr. Davis replied: — "The teaching of that class was like the farmer in the West, who hitched two wild colts to a harrow and set out to cultivate the

field. To hold them back or guide them, as he wished, was utterly impossible. So he just held onto the reins, and was dragged about the field, but whenever the harrow caught on a stump, and the team thus came abruptly to a halt, he would shout 'Whoa,' at the top of his voice." . . .

"About a year before they graduated, a professor of Hebrew from England was stopping for a week with me, and at school prayers he was struck with the long, unkempt hair and shabby clothes of the Kumamoto men, for the students from the provinces prided themselves on their rough appearance. . . . 'Well,' he said, 'in England, in such a school as this, the students are compelled to wear a neat uniform and when they come into chapel or recitation room, they always make a bow to their teachers.' I then, gave him the story of this class of fifteen and ended by saying that I felt much more like taking my hat off to them than like compelling them to make a bow to me."

He could not bear to see this beloved class, most of whom were lacking financial resources, enter the ministry without the proper tools for work, and as a result of a letter which he wrote to Joseph Cook of Boston, telling the history of the Kumamoto band and their need of adequate Christian literature, a full set of "Saturday lectures upon Science and Christianity" (at this time making a profound impression in New England) was presented by Mr. Cook to each man in the class. He also raised a fund of four hundred dollars, half of which he gave himself, to supply the class with commentaries, dictionaries and the nucleus of a working library.

The history of the Kumi-ai Church in Japan for the next fifteen years could largely be written from the work of this initial class of the Doshisha. The money that the Board sent out for evangelistic work enabled the mission to set many of these men at once into the field. Though less than half the class entered the ministry, the experience

of some of them reads like apostolic history; new fields entered, churches of four and five hundred members built up, and whole surrounding districts evangelized. Three of the class were retained as teachers in the Doshisha, and five of them became pastors of prominent churches, of whom Messrs. Ebina and Kozaki of Tokyo and Miyagawa of Osaka rank among the foremost leaders of the Christian movement of the empire.

Of his work, Mr. Davis wrote in September, 1877: "I meet, personally, most of our students, gathered from over twenty provinces, many of whom have heard nothing of Christianity. I try to interest them, hear their joys and sorrows and help them with counsel and sympathy. I give Theological instruction to the advanced classes in the vernacular, which contains but few Theological terms, and this is not easy work. Our force of teachers is so small that we must combine classes and rotate ourselves around the several chairs; this year filling, for example, the chairs of Apologetics, Systematic Theology and Old Testament Exegesis; next year taking Pastoral Theology, Homiletics and New Testament Exegesis, etc. Moreover, the school is not the whole of our work. Our house is near the center of a city of 300,000 people, and hundreds come, a few to inquire about the 'Way,' but more from curiosity to see the foreign home. An art I have been trying to learn for seven years is never to be too busy to stop and see these callers, nor out of patience while they stay, hour after hour, utterly unconscious of the value of time, while you would not sell yours for a dollar a minute. Then our house is a chapel, filled on the Sabbath with two Sabbath schools, a preaching service and an inquiry meeting. A prayer meeting is held on two evenings and a women's meeting one afternoon. We also have a company of young men who go out into country towns around, and little praying bands are springing up in these places, needing care and teaching

to fit them to be crystallized into churches. In the midst of this work, we are trying to find a few minutes each day for the preparation of Gospel tracts, books and commentaries, of which, as yet, there are few. Saturday is theoretically, and often practically, devoted to a mountain ramble. Too busy to be anything but happy."

The nature of the situation is brought out in his appeal to Boston that Dr. Gordon be sent to teach in the Doshisha: "Doshisha is growing in numbers and in influence and is known throughout the empire as 'The Bible School.' Nothing but serious mistakes on our part can prevent it from becoming a great power for the Kingdom. We are giving nearly all of the scientific and English teaching to the advanced pupils and are putting our own strength upon the Biblical teaching, but we are not sufficient for these things. With all the other calls we find our strength limited. . . . We must have help here if this school is to go on. A new man will not do. We must teach the Bible in the vernacular. We set our faces like flints against teaching this in English. Mr. Gordon has the language and is in full sympathy with the school and is just fitted for such a place, for he has the rare faculty of winning young men. His influence would be very great and he would relieve me more and do better service than any other man that can come."

Dr. Gordon's twenty years of service in the Doshisha, which began at this time, more than fulfilled the outspoken convictions of his colleague, but the relief was too late to prevent the collapse which had for some time been threatening Mr. Davis. He came to the summer of 1879 in a state of nervous exhaustion, accompanied by insomnia and a crushing sense of insufficiency for the task. In the winter of 1879, upon the advice of his medical colleagues, who feared congestion of the brain, he decided upon a trip to China.

The month in China proved a relief, but not sufficient to cure the irregularity of pulse nor the pain at the base of his brain. The rest of the following summer did not materially change his condition, but still he could not bear the thought of a long separation from the work and determined to try to rest in Japan. A month's stay at Hakone Lake with his family was followed by the picturesque return to Kyoto by the "Nakasendo," or inland mountain road, where they travelled by turns in "jinricksha," "kago,"[1] on horseback, cowback, and even packed the children over some of the passes on the backs of coolies. He next tried six weeks of travel in the southern island of Shikoku and Kyushiu, where he attempted no missionary work beyond securing the address of a bookstore or a teacher in each town visited. To these persons he sent packages of Christian literature. Years later, when regular work had been organized in those districts, he learned of individuals whom this literature had interested in Christianity and who had entered the church. Finally, in November, upon the advice of the veteran missionary, Dr. Luther H. Gulick, backed by the physicians of the mission, he was led to see the danger of further temporizing with his condition and decided to leave Japan for a prolonged rest in Europe and America.

On January first, 1881, the family sailed for Naples, via Suez. From Italy, he wrote: "The momentous question now rises how a man with one hundred dollars salary a month can live as a man who has five hundred a month. We have finally decided that this conundrum is like the old one, 'How can thirteen horses be put into twelve stalls?' that it cannot be done." So it turned out that during their eight months in Europe this missionary family did not once enter a hotel, but stopped at inexpensive pensions or, more often, in furnished rooms with the privilege of doing their own marketing and cooking. Here the children, aged

[1] Light bamboo palanquin carried by two men.

nine, seven and six, were installed with picture-books and paint boxes, while the parents studied the art galleries and explored the churches and museums of the great cities. The summer found them settled in a partially ruined but delightful "schloss" in the Bernese Oberland, from which Mr. and Mrs. Davis made occasional excursions into the higher Alps.

Various were the economies practiced to solve the enigma of expenses. I remember the military precision with which my father marshalled his family into a luggage brigade upon alighting at a European railway station. Each member was entrusted with responsibility for certain pieces of baggage, which he was instructed to let out of his possession under no possible circumstance and to "defend with your life." Thus equipped, even down to the little six-year-old with the family medicine chest and umbrella roll, the missionary battalion was put on the march to the nearest pension, to the utter rout of the baggagemen and the amusement of the passers-by. My father did the marketing and picked up a working knowledge of Italian, French and German, which would have been impossible had we travelled in a more conventional style. Once I recall the whole family, seated upon the baggage in an express wagon, being driven across a German city to make a close railway connection, while my first voyage down the Rhine will be always associated with the third-class deck where the missionary family rode, and the crates of geese and ducks upon which we children gaily sat and watched the storied castles glide by.

These were some of the means by which the impossible was accomplished and we were treated to our first vision of the wonders of the Old World. Nor do I recall that it seemed a hardship, though our mother, who had not been reared to such economies, may have had thoughts all her own. It was a grand game, and my father, who had long

since thrown off the burden of Kyoto problems, entered so heartily into the humor of every situation and feasted so deeply upon the artistic and scenic glories around him, that he seemed like a new man and we all caught the infection of his spirit. The spot in England which impressed him most deeply was the simple stone in the aisle of Westminster Abbey, placed over the dust of Livingstone's body, with the three words, "Missionary, Explorer, Philanthropist."

The eight months of travel had brought a substantial rest to Mr. Davis' nerves, but had not materially relieved the pain at the base of the brain. On arrival in New York, he went immediately to Philadelphia to consult Dr. S. Weir Mitchell. This nerve specialist found nothing organically wrong and advised quiet location, six months of complete rest, twelve hours' sleep a day, and plenty of good food. The only exceptions to this program, rigidly observed, were his attendance at a class reunion at Beloit College, where the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him, and his speech at the Annual Meeting of the American Board in Portland, Me. At this meeting, Mr. Davis was asked to speak upon the press of the work in Japan, the inadequacy of Japanese funds, alone, to accomplish the program, and the need of more help from America. The issue of self-support in Japan was still a live one in the Board, and his appeal for an advance all along the line, based upon a moderate plan of subsidy, was well received. He attended no other missionary gathering, but contented himself with writing for the religious press. The best of this work was a series of articles published in the "Congregationalist," entitled, "Why Has Asia Waited?" "Moral Progress in Japan," and "The Theology of Missions."

A source of cheer were many letters received from Japanese pastors. One of the Kumamoto Band who had built up a great Christian community in the southern island of

Shikoku, wrote of the outpouring of the Spirit. "The work progresses amazingly here. Tomorrow, seven men and one woman will be baptized and two more received by letter. . . . May God keep you and your family all through your way over sea and land, and give you peace, both inside and outside."

While in Oak Park, Ill., in the winter of 1881, he could not withhold a protest to the Board for the cutting down of appropriations for evangelistic work in Japan. A cut in this work was a stab at his heart. There is no bitterness or disloyalty in his attitude, but a note of optimism that, at any rate, other missions would go forward where his own could not enter. "Other boards will occupy the field and reap the harvest that is so ready and waiting. Well, I am glad to see those waiting fields occupied by any loyal soldiers. The thirty-six millions of Japan are anxious to hear the Gospel and with the Enemy eager to win them, it is no time to try experiments. . . . I expect to work with our mission, but my influence will go toward giving the Gospel to the people as soon as possible, and my prayers will go up for those of every nation and every mission who are doing this."

He had now been absent from Japan for twenty-one months. It was plain that he was decidedly better, though the brain difficulty returned when over-tired and, in fact, never entirely left him. The last of October found them on the Pacific, and before winter they were settled in the Kyoto home, having completed the world circuit and an absence of nearly two years.

Chapter XIV

THE ACORN SPLITS THE BOTTLE

BY the year 1882, Japan had entered upon an eager quest for all things foreign, that swept her along on a resistless tide through the decade of the eighties. That it was premature and extreme is shown by the complete reaction which took place during the next decade, but, while it lasted, the Island Empire passed through a metamorphosis probably experienced by no other nation in history in an equal space of years. Not only did Japan, during this period, take on many of the outward marks of western culture and progress, but her people began to adopt foreign ideas and institutions with unprecedented rapidity.

The public attitude toward Christianity underwent a transformation. This was shown in the great increase in sales of Testaments and Christian books and by the popularity of Christian meetings. The period was characterized by mass meetings in which thousands crowded the halls and theatres of the great cities to hear the Christian message. Christianity became a fad; a panacea for all ills, individual and national. Churches and workers, Japanese and foreign, were swamped with inquiries and applicants for baptism. So rapidly did the membership of churches increase that sanguine workers predicted that Japan would be a Christian nation in ten years.

The Doshisha, with its graduates spreading to all parts of the empire, increased in enrollment, during eight years, from 120 to 740 students. Officialdom, so shortly before putting every possible obstacle in the way of Christian progress, now smiled upon the propaganda and showed

marked favors to Christian leaders and publicists. The door of the nation was flung wide to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, while the Christian world was expecting a speedy entrance of the Island Empire into the Kingdom of God.

Dr. Davis' letters assume a new note of courage and optimism. Shortly after his return, he wrote: "We now have twenty churches in connection with our mission. They have nearly doubled in membership this year as the result of the continued presence of God's spirit. Our college and seminary have reached a highwater mark. Out of 165 students enrolled, 105 are Christians. We have nearly thirty in the Theological Department, but the class which is graduating next June will not supply one-tenth of the places which are calling. The Mikado and members of the Cabinet are reported to be studying the Bible, and it is not too much to pray that they may be truly converted. Japan cannot ignore Christianity much longer: either her leading men will be converted and influence the masses or an eclectic state religion will be proclaimed, patterned on Christianity. We all feel that we are on the eve of stirring events, which may startle the world. These subjects are occasions for prayer, especially that the continued outpouring and presence of the Spirit, on all our churches, may make permanent the heart union which was so signally given last year in answer to prayer, and that a great company of Japanese workers may be raised up to help reap this harvest."

In the spring of 1883, the Tokyo region was visited with an outpouring of God's Spirit. A Doshisha graduate, the Rev. H. Kosaki, of Tokyo, wrote to Mr. Davis: — "Thank God, He is doing a mighty work here. The day of Pentecost is being realized. Many churches are undergoing the baptism of the Holy Spirit. We held meetings every evening last week; many confessed their faith in Christ and all underwent the most extraordinary experience. Last night

THEOLOGICAL CLASS, KIOTO, JUNE, 1881

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I could not sleep until one o'clock because of the anxious inquiries after the Truth. This morning, about half-past five, they began to come again to see me. Proud men, nominally Christians for many years, have broken down, crying like children for pardon and peace."

This pentecostal experience swept over nearly the whole country. Thousands entered the church; many had their faith deepened, while in certain places the gracious work of the Spirit continued for many months.

The unparalleled importance of these impressionable years for pressing a steady and intense advance, for following up the advantage that the Christian church had gained, if the empire was to be won for Christ, made a constant appeal to Dr. Davis. This is what gave him scant patience with policies which temporized with the situation or which were proposed as experiments. This was the power that drove his pen in the impetuous stream of letters that flowed between Kyoto and Boston. "I am more and more convinced," said he, "that what we do for Japan must be done quickly, and that we must sow beside all waters. Dr. Verbeck thinks that Japan will be a Christian nation in ten years; Dr. Hepburn, the oldest missionary on the ground, puts it at fifteen years. Whether these are too sanguine or not, it is very certain that what the West does for Japan in this line must be done soon. . . . I think that there are missionaries on the ground who will see the time when their usefulness, save in exceptional cases, will be at an end, when the Japanese Church will have assumed such a position of strength and independence that it can work better in most lines without the foreign element. We are now laying the foundations and determining the ratio of the geometrical proportion which will bring these millions into the Kingdom of God."

After outlining the steady progress in the various departments of Japanese life, and emphasizing the wonderful

growth of moral ideas, with the attending expansion of the Christian movement, he says: "If the increase in the Protestant churches goes on for the next ten years in the same ratio as that of last year, we shall have in Japan, at the end of that time, over 400,000 Christians. What does this mean of responsibility and work for all concerned! If we are to give any Biblical training to the pastors who are needed for this work, we will have to greatly enlarge the Doshisha. . . . The eyes of the nation are on this school with hope and expectation. Many of the Christians of other denominations are looking to it as the most hopeful spot in Japan. Sixty of the leading men of Kyoto recently met to hear addresses on Christianity and the plan of Christian colleges in America, and decided to use their influence and to give their money to endow the Doshisha, choosing two of their company to be the trustees of the fund they are raising. The faith of the Japanese Christians is another element to be reckoned with. Prominent pastors and many church members are praying and anticipating that Japan may become a Christian nation in a few years, and that they may soon have a corps of workers in Corea and China. The Christians seem pervaded by a simple, humble faith, a taking of God at His word, and the preaching of the simple cross of Christ. I do not believe that there is any limit to the work which God may do through such instruments. Then, again, the prayers of the world are being poured out for Japan. . . . There is power in prayer; will it not avail for Japan? What then is our responsibility; what is your duty and responsibility? I cannot measure, describe or picture it.

"Among the mountains beyond us is a band of over thirty Christians who have recently come to Christ, with almost no teaching. They need a pastor; we have no one to send. In Takahashi a church has grown to over one hundred in a few months, but the young man who was

laboring there has broken down and we have no one to take his place. Fukui, one hundred miles north, has been calling for a pastor for five years, but no man can be sent. Indeed, it seems as if Kyoto would absorb all the pastors which our school can turn out for some years to come. The present, in Japan, is like the opening of our Civil War in America, when the West Point graduates could not fill one position in a hundred of those which needed to be filled. I thank God that He can use others. Pray for us all."

In the spring of 1883, he advised Mr. Neesima to enlarge the Doshisha Company by adding several of the strongest available men to the Board of Trustees, whose number was now increased to five.

The basis of the Doshisha Company, which was the written form of the understanding existing from the beginning between the Japanese and the American Board Mission, is as follows:

1. The " Doshisha Company " shall consist of five members, who shall own the property of the company, and see that it is used for the maintenance of Christian schools, and shall have charge of all business arising between said schools and the Japanese government.

2. Said company shall perpetuate itself, electing members to fill vacancies, and shall elect one of its number as president of the schools.

3. All the internal affairs and arrangements of the school shall be administered by the regular Japanese and foreign teachers of each school, in company with the president.

4. Money sent to the schools by foreign friends shall be expended under the direction of the foreign teachers, or other representatives of the donors, after consultation with the president and the Japanese teachers of each school, respectively.

At this time the real estate on which the homes of some

of the missionaries stood, which till now had been held in Mr. Neesima's name, was transferred to the Doshisha Company. Of this transfer and the legal status of the Doshisha property, he wrote to Dr. Clark, May 23rd, 1883: "The company is composed of the best and most stable men that we have and those who are, and always have been, in full sympathy with the mission and its policy, but it should be understood that the mission and the Board have no legal claim on this property in Kyoto, for it is impossible for foreigners to own real estate in Japan, save on the concessions in the treaty ports. This company, organized on this basis, with the understanding that no changes are to be made in the basis or in the members of the company without consulting us, is the best possible arrangement that can be made under the circumstances in Japan. But it would not be possible to recover one cent here in court, if they should turn us out. I hope that this is made plain. This could only happen in case of a complete break between the Japanese and us, for they understand that they hold this property in trust for the united work which we are to do by means of it. Dr. Clark has added, 'We take the risk,' and Mr. Allchin feelingly said the other day in our mission meeting, 'We have our pay for our investment already in the young men who have gone out from the school and are at work."

In September, 1884, the entering class was double that of any preceding year, and the problem of housing the new boys arose. In asking the Board for an appropriation for new dormitories, he wrote: "Things are moving faster, far faster than our mission as a whole moves. We are crowded on by the work instead of planning and preparing for it. For this there is no help, but I want you to know why we ask for such great things and, in time, so as to be ready for the work." He wrote of the evangelistic theatre meetings held in the towns of Nagahama and Hikone, attended

by upwards of 700 men: — "They were largely middle-aged and aged men and the attention through three to four hours was perfect. I shall never forget the upturned gaze of those men, many with mouths as well as ears wide open, a symbol of the attitude of all Japan today. The thought of it haunts me. We cannot begin to speak to the millions who want to hear."

The Buddhist and Shinto forces were not submitting without a struggle to the giant strides of the foreign faith. They scattered seditious literature regarding Christianity, they hired rough characters to break up Christian meetings and made open threats of violence. But the government had taken a clear stand on the question of religious freedom and gave open protection to Christian gatherings. In the fall of 1884, a letter was placed in Mr. Learned's post-box addressed to "The four American Barbarians, Davis, Gordon, Learned and Greene," which read: — "I speak to you who have come with words which are sweet in the mouth, but are a sword in the heart; bad priests; American barbarians; four robbers. You have come from a far country with the evil religion of Christ and as slaves of the Japanese robber Neesima, with bad teaching you are gradually deceiving the people, but we know your hearts, and hence we shall inflict with Japanese sword the punishment of heaven upon you. Japan being truly an excellent country, in ancient times, when Buddhism first came, those who brought it were killed; in the same way you must be killed. But we do not want to defile the sacred soil of Japan with your abominable blood; for this reason, we will wait two weeks, within which you must leave Kyoto and go to America, if not, the robbers of the Doshisha and all believers of this way in the city, will be killed; hence take your families and go quickly." (Signed by) "Patriots in the peaceful city, believers in Shinto." The only comment Mr. Davis made upon this letter was: "Of course,

this is only buncombe, but it shows the spirit that is working against us; for a while Christianity was ignored, then it was ridiculed; now it is feared and the whole situation is most encouraging."

The spirit of independence and of impatience with foreign control and even with cooperation, was growing rapidly among the Japanese leaders. Mission boards and missionaries were freely criticized for assuming credit in their reports for work that was largely accomplished by the Japanese. There was increasing restiveness over the use of foreign money, while the statement was often heard that Japan was not a missionary country in the sense that other lands were fields of mission activity. Among the larger Kumi-ai churches of the north a movement arose for an independent Japanese church to include all denominations and to be operated separately from mission boards.

A prominent Tokyo pastor was deputed to present a statement of the plan to the missionaries of the American Board through Mr. Davis, who was asked to criticize the plan. He did this in a clear, forceful, but loving letter. Parts of this letter, which was the beginning of a considerable correspondence upon the subject, between himself and the Japanese leaders, are typical of the spirit in which he dealt with his Japanese colleagues, a spirit both fearless and kind, speaking the absolute truth, as he saw it, yet showing through it all the love of an elder brother in Christ. After detailing the points upon which the proposition for entire independence rested, he said: "There is no official connection between the Congregational churches of Japan and the American Board Mission. We have not a shred of power over them and no control, save as counsellors, and that only in so far as they choose to receive our counsel. . . . It is true that the Congregational churches in Japan are reported to the American Board by us, but not in any official relation. Do you object to being re-

ported as Congregational churches? We are the representatives of the Congregational churches in America. We and they have had a humble part in this work. They are expending $40,000 a year in this work now; they educated and have supported Mr. Neesima; they have put many thousands of dollars into the Doshisha, where you and many of your colleagues have studied; we are now asking them to help your church building and your newspaper enterprise.

"This work in Japan up to this time has been, largely, a seed-sowing work. Do you desire that when the seed springs up and bears fruit and the harvest is being reaped, it should not be reported to the home churches?

"Do we owe nothing to this great army of friends that is behind us, bearing us up in their hands and on their hearts before God? How can Christ's words, John iv, 36, be fulfilled: 'That both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together,' if we make no reports? . . . You ask us to beget children, to travail in birth for them, to care for them during their tender years and then not even to count them. If this is a wrong analogy, then we are not real missionaries. . . . We cannot leave home, family and country, and come here and do ever so humble a work for these souls without loving them as our own children. There is no other tie between us; we would have no other tie but love; we cannot cut that; you cannot cut it. We consider you perfectly free and independent; on the American plan of parents and children, we want you to set up independent houses, but we must love you; you must let us report your numbers and increase to the thousands in America who love you and are praying for you. In so reporting, we are deeply conscious that the Infinite Factor does nearly all the work, and to Him be all the glory."

He urged the desirability of working in cooperation, strongly deprecating a step which would set off the Japa-

nese churches as a rival body to the mission. He pointed out that the strength of the whole movement lay in mutual cooperation, trust and love; that the proposal to gather the churches of all denominations into an independent Japanese church was impossible; that it would make the church of Japan virtually a Congregational church, and that none of the other missions in the country would consider such a plan; that it would, instead, bring opposition and suspicion upon the whole Congregational movement in Japan. He further showed that such a plan would meet with stout opposition from many of the leading Japanese Kumi-ai workers, and that it would ruin Mr. Neesima's hopes of securing further endowment for the Doshisha. Finally, he wrote: "Such a separation as you propose will have very far-reaching influences; nothing else has ever united the Japanese and foreigners together; cannot Christianity do it? It professes to be able to. If we separate, Christianity will seem to have failed in one of its important functions. Can we afford to let this example of the power of Christ fail? . . . I fully believe that if we will but let theories alone, and with hearts filled, united and melted together with the love and spirit of Christ, clasp hands in this work for these millions for whom he died, we will forget our nationalities and that God will use us to do a mighty work here in Japan."

His time and thought through the spring of 1885 was largely given to the question of the organization of the Japanese churches, which he considered of the utmost importance as a means of diverting the more restless spirits from the independence movement, of facilitating the growth of the church and of correlating and rendering more effective its activities. While he honored the spirit that prompted the desire for a purely Japanese movement, his close personal relation to many of the leaders made him sensitive to the custom of excluding missionaries from con-

ferences and committee meetings, which was common at this time. "I felt it keenly last June, at the meeting of the Missionary Society, when I would have given a dollar a minute to speak to those men thirty minutes, but no foreigner was asked to speak. I do not mention this to discourage you; I am not discouraged. Our outlook was never so bright before, but you have laid out a great plan for us, and I want you to realize a few of the difficulties in the way. We will do all we can, but we have not power to work miracles; only God can do that and he may in this case. . . . It is natural that one should magnify his own work, but I am more and more convinced that our school here is the strongest existing bond of union between the mission and the churches."

The year 1884 will be remembered in the spiritual history of the Doshisha as the year of a remarkable revival which has had few parallels in the records of supplicatory prayer. The fall of 1883 was a period of speculation and doubt in the school, and among the churches. Several of the faculty were deeply concerned and frequently met together for prayer for the Doshisha. The Week of Prayer, in January, passed without special results. It was continued a second week, with a general meeting each evening for prayer for the outpouring of God's Spirit. However, no visible results came. A group often continued praying daily. Early in February, Mr. Davis wrote a letter to forty colleges and theological schools in the United States, asking for special prayer for the pouring out of God's Spirit upon the school. The weeks wore on with no change in the situation.

Sabbath, the sixteenth of March, dawned, a radiant morning. The day passed as usual, but before night, unknown to the teachers, an invisible power swept through the Doshisha. During the long night hours nearly all of the one hundred and fifty students, Christians and non-

Christians alike, wrestled under an agony of conviction of sin with their Maker. Mr. Davis records of this experience: — "That week will never be forgotten; the boys could not sleep, but spent the nights in strong crying to God for themselves and for others. During this whole period there was no preaching; no exhortation; the movement was entirely spontaneous. The whole school has been transformed. Thirty-seven are asking for baptism and all but ten in the Doshisha consider themselves Christians."

The most remarkable feature of this work was not the number of conversions, but rather the experience of a new joy and peace, a consciousness of the power of the Gospel, and a devotion to their Lord, shared in common by nearly all the Christian students. An irresistible impulse impelled them to preach the Gospel and it took firm handling to keep the School from being emptied. This, with the nervous excitement under which many of the students were living, was a cause for deep concern to the faculty. "We kept steadily at our work, excusing none from recitations. . . . Thursday, a group of young men came to my house to ask if they could have funds with which to go to preach. I put off the first company, but soon a second group came, on the run, out of breath, trembling with excitement and saying that they were going to obey God and not man, and that the Spirit told them to go and preach. They said, 'Sayonara,' and started for the door. I cried, 'Hold on, I want to show you a passage of Scripture,' seized a Bible and read I John, chapter four, which begins, 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but prove the spirits whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world. Hereby, know ye the spirit of God,' etc. This caught their attention and they came back and sat down. We talked and prayed together and they were completely melted, saying that Satan had been leading them and that they would wait until after

examinations. This was followed by a general meeting of the students, many of whom came with their bundles upon their backs ready to start. The faculty and two of the older students finally quieted them, and a compromise was made by which three students were at once allowed to go out into evangelistic work. The Doshisha quieted down and the year closed without further incident."

The source of this wonderful experience was not difficult to find. About the middle of April answers to the letters sent to America, asking for intercessory prayer for the Doshisha, began to arrive. They told how from the 12th to the 17th of March, the day of the revival in the Doshisha, groups of students in different parts of the United States had united in prayer for the Doshisha, with a fervor of supplication and of faith that some of these schools had never before known. This revival gave an evangelistic impulse to the Doshisha which resulted in a large number of students devoting their lives to the ministry; it made the power of prayer and the presence of the Spirit of God mighty and vivid realities to Mr. Davis; it stimulated a fresh interest in the Doshisha among a large circle of friends in America, and it quickened the spiritual life of the whole Kumi-ai church, which now underwent a period of remarkable growth.

The illness of Mrs. Davis through the autumn and winter of 1885 was a cause for deepest concern. He wrote: —"I do not look far into the future, and I am glad that I cannot, content to know that there is One who knows all and has planned it all in the best way. Whatever comes with His blessing will be only blessing for us." The death of his wife, in April, 1886, necessitated an eight months' absence from Japan, in which Dr. Davis found a home for the three older children in Oberlin, Ohio, in the family of Rev. Wm. Mellen, a veteran missionary of the American Board.

It is probable that the sphere of influence of the true missionary wife, in the early period of any field, can never be correctly estimated. Behind the outstanding achievements of nearly every pioneer of the modern Church has stood a frail figure, cast in heroic mould, clasping hands with her husband in accomplishing the impossible. God, only, knows the contribution of unfailing cheer, superb loyalty, silent suffering, secret prayer and heroic faith laid by the wives upon the altar of foreign missionary service.

After seeing the children well started in school, he returned to Japan with the baby, then eighteen months old. "I said, 'goodbye,' to the children one evening and took the west-bound train for Chicago. It seemed as if it must take an extra amount of steam to pull the train, so strongly was I drawn to those I had left behind." Many were surprised at his return to Japan under these circumstances, but to some, this decision to separate from the motherless family became a supreme inspiration. Especially was this true of his Japanese friends. One of his old pupils who was in America wrote him: — "One thing I have had in my heart since the coming of the news of Mrs. Davis' death, which I must speak out. I refer to your decision to go back to Japan, leaving your children in the hands of strangers. I think this decision of yours moved me and gave me greater good than all your teaching put together. This one act, in deciding to return again to your work, has given a new view of the Christian life to all my classmates, and I think to hundreds of Christians there."

On returning to Japan in the late winter of 1887 the hospitable home of his close colleague, Dr. Dwight W. Learned, was opened to himself and little daughter. They shared the comforts of this home for more than a year, little Helen being mothered so genuinely by Mrs. Learned that the father was free to carry on his teaching, as before, in the Doshisha. His second marriage occurred July 10th,

1888, to Miss Frances Hooper, of Worcester, Mass., a member of the mission who had served efficiently for five years on the faculty of the Girls' School in Kyoto, and who had been a warm friend of the Davis family. The new home that was established was an exceedingly happy one, its cordial hospitality through the next twenty-two years making effective one of the most fruitful phases of Dr. Davis' whole missionary work. Two sons, Louis and Jerome, came to join little Helen in completing the family group.

The rapid growth of the Doshisha and the corresponding need of better equipment were constantly on his heart. His letters to the Board, pleading for the school, representing what the investment of a little money could do in making it a more efficient instrument for redeeming Japan, number over two hundred during this one period. The lack of adequate equipment, with the pro-foreign wave which was sweeping Japan, was draining the school of many of its best students who, dissatisfied, were leaving for America and Europe. Of the Doshisha's lack of modern equipment and, especially, of a reference library and scientific apparatus, he wrote in 1884: — "If we are to satisfy our young men we must have such a school here that we can say to them, 'Doshisha is as good a school in which to lay the foundations of an education as there is in the United States.' You are doing nobly by us, but the cutting off of these things is like cutting off the oil needed to lubricate a costly engine — it will run, but it runs at a loss which bears no comparison to the cost of the oil which is denied."

The dedication of the Nurses' School and the opening of the new library, on November 15th, 1887, presented a remarkable scene. The Doshisha chapel was crowded with four hundred representative men of the city. On the platform sat, as guests of honor, the Governor of Kyoto Fu, the two city Mayors, the Chairman of the Kyoto Assembly

and representative physicians of the city, from all of whom congratulatory addresses were received. "When we think of the storm of opposition in the midst of which the Doshisha struggled for life during the first five years of its existence, it seems little less than miraculous to witness this scene. No one can measure the greatness of the impression for good which has been made today." . . . "Recently, Viscount Hijikata of the Imperial Household Department visited us and addressed all the students in the chapel. After his speech, Govenor Kitagaki of Kyoto turned to the Viscount and asked him to speak of Doshisha to the Emperor. The eyes of the nation are upon us and we wish to make our school better in every way so that it may be indeed a pattern to this people."

In the fall of 1888 occurred the memorable visit of Luther D. Wishard, from which dates the organization of the first regular Young Men's Christian Association in Japan. It was in his home, where Mr. and Mrs. Wishard were entertained, that the basis of the future Association union for Japan was first discussed. Mr. Wishard, in company with Mr. John T. Swift, who had recently come to Japan as the first foreign secretary of the International Committee, spent several weeks at the Doshisha, holding evangelistic meetings. Dr. Davis wrote of this work: "We had been praying for a blessing in connection with Mr. Wishard's visit, and it came. Our new home was full of students. Fifty crowded into our parlor and sat on the floor to listen to Mr. Wishard, while Mr. Swift would have another company in the dining room and sometimes a third group met in the study. As a result of this revival, one hundred and three students united with the church the next March."

The period closes with another triumphal report of the school year of 1889: — "Of the 740 students, 495 are Christians. One hundred and sixty-five have been baptized

from the two schools during the last year. Our graduation exercises begin tomorrow and, on Satuday, Mr. Wishard's Summer School begins; we are expecting many from outside and are praying for rich results."

Through the year 1887 the plan for organic union between the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, which had been gathering headway for some time, was fairly broached. Liberal concessions were made upon both sides, an apparently workable basis of union was presented by the joint committees and a majority of the Japanese leaders, and the missionaries in both churches favored the plan. However, the rank and file of the Kumi-ai churches were fearful lest their liberties would be curtailed under the new basis, and, after nearly two years of negotiation, the matter was dropped.

It was a source of keen regret to Dr. Davis, who had been appointed to serve upon the Committee from the American Board Mission, that he could not favor this union movement, whose predecessor in the seventies he had so earnestly supported. With the spirit of united missionary effort he was in hearty sympathy, but he believed that this particular movement was being promoted along lines which would not foster a union of all bodies in Japan, but rather the strengthening of one of the leading bodies.

He published his views upon the union question, drawing attention to what he considered impracticable in the plan. He felt a deep obligation to the Congregational churches which were behind the work in Japan, and this, with his loyalty to the American Board, prevented him from supporting a movement which had the cordial backing of nearly all the members of his mission. Finally, he was convinced that though the Japanese were promoters of the general plan of union, the particular form in which it was to be effected did not originate with them, and that although it had received the assent of the Japanese mem-

bers of the committee, it did not approve itself to a majority of the Kumi-ai churches and that the result would be a split within the Congregational body in Japan. He wrote: "The union is very much like the wolf and the lamb lying down together, but with the lamb lying down inside the wolf: — the principal change which the wolf undergoes in the operation is to become bigger. I can only speak for myself: it is better for others who are in favor of the plan to take my place on the committee."

Dr. Davis took this occasion to draw the attention of the American Board to one of the causes of this movement away from their denomination by the Japanese churches, namely, that some recognition of the church in Japan by the Congregational body in the United States was necessary to help to bind them to the home body and strengthen their sense of entity. He feared lest the very element in the Congregational polity which he most admired, its independence, would become the undoing of the Japanese church, unless a definite relationship with other bodies of the same denomination could be effected. "If some plan could be arranged by which Japanese Christians who are members of Congregational churches may be recognized as Congregationalists, it would be a source of strength to the work in Japan."

Chapter XV

"REACTION"

THE new decade opened with an irreparable loss to the Doshisha in the death of its beloved president. Dr. Neesima, in spite of failing strength, had for fifteen years carried the executive burden of the school. In the fall of 1889, while working in Tokyo for an endowment fund, he was taken with serious symptoms and after a short illness passed away at the age of forty-seven in the seaside town of Oiso, near Yokohama. It seemed to Dr. Davis in the loss of this friend as if the sheet-anchor of the Doshisha was gone, for he well knew the priceless nature of the service that Dr. Neesima had rendered the whole enterprise. Together they had faced the opposition of Government and priests; together they had prayed and struggled through the years when the life of the school hung in the balance. They had leaned upon each other, supplementing one another to a remarkable degree. They had seen eye to eye in nearly all the important problems connected with the growth of the Doshisha, and they shared the same consuming passion that it might become a prolific source of the future spiritual workmen of Japan.

Some thought them a strangely mated pair, "the father and the mother of the Doshisha," as they were called; the tense, energetic, explosive soldier missionary and the gentle, steadfast, yet no less intense Japanese educator, burning with an exalted purpose that his country should be redeemed through this Christian college. Of Dr. Neesima's death, he makes comment in his diary: — "I doubt if Mr. Neesima's place in the Doshisha can ever fully be filled. . . . The secret of his great success was not his intellect nor his

executive ability, which were, perhaps, above the average. It lay in his strong faith, love and zeal; in his perseverance and patience; and these came not naturally, but because he had God with him. He did all things through Christ, who strengthened him. He had a high aim, and a holy ambition to carry it out, from which no difficulty could turn him. He was conscious that God was with Him, that his purpose was in harmony with God's, that his ambition was like Christ's. He trusted not his own strength, but wrestled continually with God in prayer, to use him and give his aim success." Speaking of the constructive ability and self-control of the Japanese leader, he said: — "Standing here for eight years between two, three and even four opposing factions, fired into by the whole of them and having to just stand and take it from them all, without answering back or breaking with any of them, he has borne a greater strain than falls to a dozen ordinary men in one generation."

The Japanese reaction of the nineties against western influences and thought found its inception in the crest of the pro-foreign wave that swept the nation in the previous decade and which, like most extreme movements, had soon spent its force. Intense application in the school of foreign civilization had opened the eyes of the people to the flaws as well as the glories of western culture. They found that Anglo-Saxon life could not be slipped on, "in toto," as a garment, and, moreover, that it had unsuspected deficiencies. The irritation caused by the presence of extra-territorial courts in the treaty ports, and the growing realization that the treaty powers had taken advantage of Japan's lack of experience in matters of revenue tariff and perpetual leases, was extreme and swelled the tide of the anti-foreign spirit. With this awakening there was growing a consciousness of power which protested against the dominance of a foreign régime. With the promulgation of the Constitution in 1890

a new era of democracy was opening which was marked by the discounting of western influence and the conservation of the best of the old Japanese life.

Popular thought regarding religion and philosophy did not escape this national trend. Materialism, never far separated from the philosophy of Confucius, was in the air. The educated classes in Japan, for centuries under the influence of the Chinese sage, were naturally inclined to Materialism and found insuperable difficulties in the acceptance of the so-called " supernatural." They bulwarked the theories of Huxley and Spencer with their own Confucian philosophy and considered themselves emancipated from the " superstitions " of all religion.

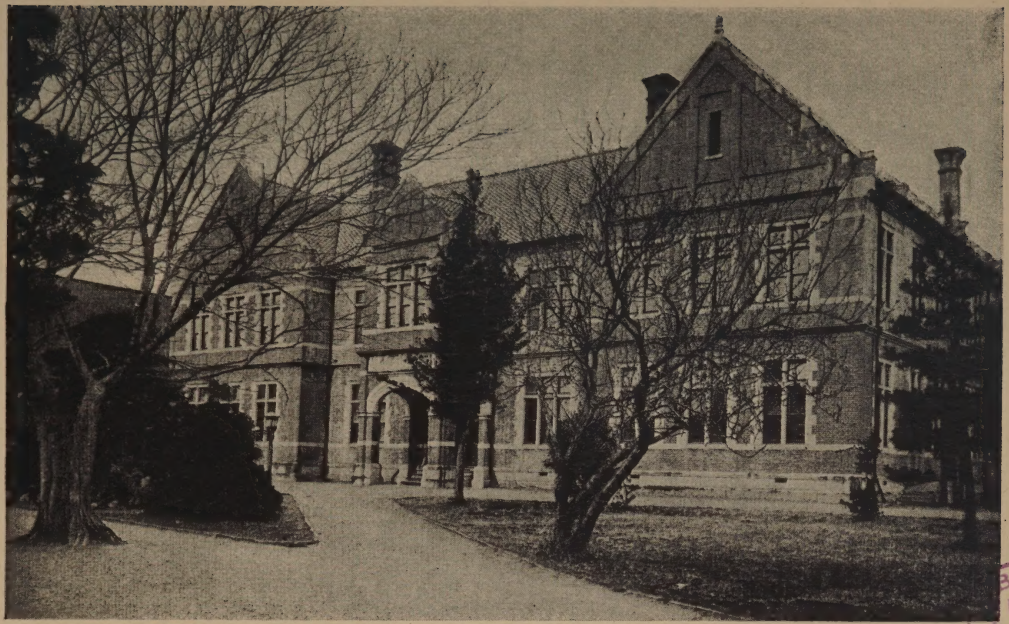
Materialistic and radical literature, circulated in large quantities among the people, began to cool the religious interest of the previous decade. Among church leaders there grew a passion for the new in Theology. The tide of higher criticism and speculation which was approaching its flood in Europe and America completely charmed the Japanese students who went abroad, and they returned to their native land thoroughly imbued with radical theories, believing them well suited to a nation that, like Japan, had discarded the old for the new. The rapid growth of church membership was checked, several prominent pastors who had led in the previous advance of evangelical Christianity now left the pastorate and, in some cases, turned squarely against the Truth which they had been foremost in teaching; others continued their ministry with so much of doubt and coldness in their preaching as to stagger the spiritual life of their churches; the religious press was filled with speculation and attacks upon evangelical foundations of faith; Christianity was stigmatized as a foreign religion, and missionaries were accused of having taught obsolete husks of truth, while Christians were urged to find for themselves the meat of the whole matter. A Japoni-

cized Christianity, based upon Confucian ethics, and combining the best elements of all religions; a popular eclecticism, was urged, as the "sine qua non," for Japan.

This wave of reaction dealt the Doshisha a heavy blow. The school had experienced an era of extraordinary prosperity. Within a decade, its enrollment had increased fourfold, its buildings from four to fourteen and its endowment from nil to $165,000. From being an object of hatred and opposition, it had passed to a position of favor with local and imperial governments, and it enjoyed a place of prestige and leadership among the Christian schools in the empire.

It had not, however, escaped the change incident to rapid expansion and material prosperity. The School of Science, built and endowed through the generous gift of Mr. Harris, of New London, Ct., a personal friend of Dr. Learned, had substantially strengthened the Doshisha, and was now manned by specialists. The little band of teachers which, in the early days, had been welded together by the common struggle for existence and was permeated with a central evangelistic purpose, had grown to a large faculty composed of diverse elements. The same spiritual fervor could hardly be maintained under the new conditions; it was natural that professors should be absorbed in their laboratories and research rather than in the soul's salvation of their students. On the other hand, teachers complained that the rules were too severe and lent themselves to infringement.

Dr. Davis felt the condition of the school as keenly as though it had been that of a son. He urged that the rules, if impossible of enforcement, should be abolished, but that as long as they stood, the honor of the Doshisha and the integrity of students and teachers, alike, demanded their strict observance. It cut him to the quick to see the class-prayer meetings and chapel prayers neglected, the apparent lack of interest shown by many of the teachers in



BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

THE SCIENCE HALL, DOSHISHA

the spiritual welfare of the students, and the more worldly atmosphere that was entering the school.

One of the clearest indications of the changed spirit of the Doshisha occurred during the visit of Captain Janes in 1893. Several of his old pupils, now professors in the college, had felt deeply that when Captain Janes had been in trouble in the United States some of the missionaries, and, especially, Dr. Davis, had not duly supported his cause, and now when their beloved teacher came to deliver a course of lectures in the Doshisha, they naturally were inclined to lionize him. In his lectures before the student body, "he denounced theological instruction, criticized the Church as the enemy of progress and liberty, sneered at missionaries, denied the existence of a personal God and ridiculed fundamental Christian doctrines. The foreign teachers remonstrated with the person, who in the absence of the president, was in charge of the school, but he refused to interfere with the liberty of the students to have such lectures as they desired. Fortunately, the students themselves, after two or three lectures, were unwilling to listen to more. They went to the lecturer, saying they did not care to have the course continued, and one of the advanced pupils, who had acted as interpreter, made a public apology for having aided a person who was trying to tear down what Dr. Neesima had built up."[1] "As time went on, the missionaries felt more and more that their influence was being undermined, especially by some of the teachers who, at the morning chapel exercises, in the class room and in public journals, ridiculed them and their teaching. The missionaries were not alone in considering that the school was proving unfaithful to the principles on which it had been founded, for many of its alumni and friends grieved over what was being done.[2] Dr. Davis had not been blind

[1] Cary, "A History of Christianity in Japan," p. 257.
[2] Ibid.

to the approaching reaction. Four years before, in 1888, he had written: "I believe we are to soon enter a period of fierce theological controversy in Japan which will try men's souls and have very far-reaching results." May 3rd, 1890, he wrote: "The next few years are going to be trying ones for the school; Mr. Neesima's death and the reaction that is upon us, added to great pecuniary distress, will diminish our students. There is a wide discussion going on in the Japanese religious papers in regard to inspiration. . . . God's truth will come off victorious at last, but I do not want German history repeated in Japan. The present reaction is a healthy one; it is going temporarily too far, but the church will soon come back again, not to the old place, but to a better one. The anti-foreign spirit is not widespread. It is not found in the interior, but only among a few leaders who are disparaging the Theology taught by the missionaries. The time of great demand for missionaries to teach in schools is largely gone by, but there never has been a time in the history of our work when there was such a call for preaching missionaries, and the demand is likely to increase for many years."

In the midst of the first spring after Dr. Neesima's death, when the outlook was disconcerting, he wrote hopefully to Boston: — "The annual meeting of the Doshisha Board of Trustees has just been held, and as one of the three associate missionary members of the Board, it was my privilege to attend. They were three intensely interesting days. The ten trustees were all present and took hold of the business with an intelligent interest which is encouraging. I reached home at midnight, tired, but profoundly thankful that God had raised up such men to care for the school."

As time passed on with no appreciable change in the religious condition of the churches and the Doshisha, Dr. Davis wrote an appeal to the professors and students,

sending a copy to each teacher and upper class man. He pled for a warmer religious spirit as the only hope of the college. "Great as is the need of the school for a closer union and fellowship between teachers and students, and great as is the need of an endowment, there is one need still more fundamental. Without a strengthening of the moral tone of the school, a deepening of its spiritual life, a warming of its love to God and man, a quickening of its faith in Christ and a revivifying of all the spiritual powers of its professed Christians, there is little hope for its future. . . . The splendid support received in the past, was by no means because of Dr. Neesima's name and influence, alone; it was because Doshisha trained men of like spirit as Dr. Neesima. If the school turns out men who have little moral purpose and who find no valuable work to do in the world, it will lose the interest of its friends both here and abroad. . . . No college can rise higher than its faculty, intellectually, morally or spiritually. What I have to say applies as much to myself as to anyone. I do not say that we are, as a faculty, cold and spiritually inert, but the impression is abroad that we are. . . . At any rate, of what good is a fire unless it warms somebody, unless it spreads to something else by contact? It seems to me, and I include myself in this, that we must have our hearts powerfully revivified with the love of Christ, if we are to kindle the school. It is with fear and trembling that I make this appeal to ourselves."

The missionaries were not alone in their concern for the religious life of the Doshisha; Principal Kozaki was troubled at the lack of response on the part of the teachers to the spiritual needs of the college and had many conferences with his foreign faculty members regarding it. The Kyoto Station, too, was deeply concerned. Dr. Davis wrote, January 2nd, 1892: "Mr. Learned and I have called a meeting of our station, tomorrow, to pray over the mat-

ter. We had two good meetings on Saturday, the anniversary of Dr. Neesima's death, and Mr. Miyagawa made a ringing speech on the need of the school. I am glad he is one of the trustees." He wrote long and troubled letters concerning the Unitarian views and liberal conduct that were gaining ground in and out of the Doshisha, but always closed with an expression of that broad Christian charity which softened his naturally stern judgments.

In closing one of these letters, he said: "I suppose we should not be so much surprised as I have been. When Christian Americans who have a thousand years of Christian training behind them have intellectual doubts, usually, they have a moral foundation deep enough, so that if their heads go wrong their hearts will remain right, until their heads have time to right themselves; but here there is no such history behind our Christians, nor a Christian experience and environment to hold them, and they are led to do things in the name of progress and freedom that grieve and astonish us all. I realize, as I never have before, that we must be patient and hold on to them and be willing to help them for another generation, if necessary, to keep steadily along the solid Christian foundations that have been laid."

In April, 1892, Dr. Davis was requested by the Kyoto Station to write the Annual Report of the American Board Mission in Japan. Realizing that it was a delicate task he asked the station to hear and criticize his report, and, no alterations being made, it was published. To correctly report the religious life of a school like the Doshisha was an extremely difficult undertaking for a missionary, but it was handled with his usual candor. The Japanese faculty objected to his statements relating to the lowered moral tone of the school, its lax discipline and the sense of non-responsibility of the teachers for the religious welfare of the students, and Dr. Davis was charged with having purposely misrepresented facts. This was the beginning

of a series of charges now brought against him by the liberal wing of the Doshisha and its supporters. Except when asked to substantiate his statements by definite facts, he made no reply to his opponents. He said: "It is a new experience for me to be criticised by the Japanese and it is doing me good. I have hitherto been too much praised by them. The whole matter of the report is turning out for the furtherance of the Gospel and is doing ten times as much good as I expected. I never began a school year with a braver or happier heart, or one more at rest. One hundred and eighty-three new students have passed entrance examinations and we look forward with hope into the coming year."

Of the fourteen distinct charges which were preferred against Dr. Davis at this time, the more important were: — his alleged neglect of Captain Janes on the occasion of his last furlough; the facts in reference to the spiritual condition of the Doshisha, included in the Annual Report of the Doshisha; his place of leadership in opposing the Union Movement; his cowardice in not daring to follow progressive leaders in the New Theology; the reaction in both Doshisha and the Kumi-ai Church due, largely, to the puritanical spirit and dead theology with which they were started, and for which he was held chiefly responsible; and, finally, his opposition to the efforts for radical independence resulting in the defeat of that movement. In a letter to the members of the mission, after explaining the charges that were laid at his door and asking their prayers that he should not become proud at the importance that they might indicate was his, he said: — "While I am conscious of many sins and great deficiencies, I feel, in regard to the above fourteen charges, absolutely blameless."

However, the very men who attacked him most resolutely, who had broken most completely with him in their thinking and policies, could not forget the close relation in

which Dr. Davis had stood to them. A member of the Kumamoto Band and a leader in the independence movement made the following touching appeal: — "Mr. Davis, I cannot but be sorry that you do not go on with us. Why should not we, who once met together as father and children in Christ, go on in hope, joy and perfect sympathy? In union question, you left us; in the progress of Theology you dare not come. Captain Janes told us to trust you. You were three years our comforter after he left us, but ever since we could not go on in hearty sympathy. Among sorrows of the world, what you and we have been experiencing for many years is, I think, one of the greatest. With what comfort should we comfort you. It seems to me while all others are striving to separate you from us or us from you, there is one thing remaining which can still unite you and us in Christ; that is the spirit of self-sacrifice. As we wounded each other in secret suffering it is, I think, very hard to understand each other now. How unhappy we feel. Still, I hope you will again be a binding force in this crisis between missionaries and us, as you were fifteen years ago. My teacher, my second father, stand with us, strive with us, hold us, become one of us. Board and missionaries never leave you alone. I would God that you will be ours, and we yours in Christ and his life." That he realized this deep-seated bond seems clear. "There are a few of these men who are piling everything they can on me just now. But the same men who hold apparently some personal feeling against me have, I believe, too much of love and respect buried in their hearts for these feelings to last long. . . . I believe that love will conquer."

Dr. Davis was too sensitive a man to bear, without wincing, such intense opposition from such sources; he was also too sensible to ignore charges which involved the prosperity of the church and the Doshisha. The thought that the reactionary movement might be, in a partial degree,

traced to a rebound from his conservative Theology came with stunning force to him. To be told that he had driven his leading students into extreme views that were influencing the whole Japanese church brought sleepless nights and agonizing days. He wrote a letter of resignation from his chair in the Doshisha, but instead of immediately presenting it he concluded to rely upon the judgment of his colleagues. To them he said: — "Is it wise for me to continue to teach Theology? Having reached deep convictions I cannot teach contrary to them, but I can stop teaching in the Doshisha, and I must stop if these men express the general feeling in regard to what I teach. I have realized that I was laying foundations in accordance with which, under God, the whole spiritual temple here was to be built. I have felt crushed with the sense of the responsibility, but it may be well for a younger man, better fitted for the work, to take my place. I am not wedded to this school and can be just as happy in the work of direct evangelism, when it is thought I can be spared here."

The spirit of independence and a desire for entire separation from the mission had continued to grow among some of the Japanese leaders. They were dissatisfied that the mission should stand between themselves and the American Christian public. The missionaries were said to be holding the position of a "House of Lords" with the Japanese as the "House of Commons." Finally, a committee waited upon Dr. Davis and presented three definite propositions: first, that the mission help to make the Japanese and foreign public understand that the Kumi-ai Church was independent; second, that the missionaries become members of Japanese churches and put themselves under the full direction of the Japanese; third, that the Japanese conference make the Annual Report to the American Board, ask for appropriations and divide the money.

Dr. Davis urged that no sudden break be made. He

pointed to the fact that the Kumi-ai Church, already, had entire independence and that moral influence alone was exerted by the American Board in its work in Japan; that in putting property and power into the hands of the Japanese his Board had been criticized not only in Japan, but by missions in other countries; that it was the first time that this had been done in modern missions and that the world was watching the result. He assured the committee that the mission would gladly cooperate in matters of location and work, but that such cooperation should also include a joint management of funds appropriated for the general work. He believed, moreover, that it would approve of their sending their own report to the Board, in addition to the mission report. He urged, above all, the necessity of heart unity and of acting slowly in a movement with whose ultimate success he was in entire sympathy, but that he was convinced that speedy action would be fatal. "Let us show our love, sympathy and readiness to work under their direction, as much as possible," he wrote to a colleague. "Do not be moved by the transient moods of a few of these leaders, but wait until the body of Christians moves in a given direction and stays of the same mind twelve consecutive months. We need to teach them stability and perseverance by not being too easily moved ourselves. . . . The feeling of independence is a good sign, though it may be carried too fast and too far. Still, we must recognize the fact, and we ought to be glad to recognize it, that, henceforth, we must decrease and that they must increase."

The rank and file of the Japanese pastors took issue with the radical leaders upon the independence question. Dr. Davis was in receipt of letters from Kumi-ai men in different parts of the country, during 1893 and 1894, which cheered him and strengthened his conviction that the work was passing through a heavy squall and would eventually

right itself. One pastor said: "Though I think independence itself is a good thing, I have no sympathy with the movement for independence which is carried on by a few Kumi-ai ministers, and which, in my opinion, is the product of a narrow, anti-foreign spirit. Do not be discouraged because a few ministers express hostility. There are among us thoughtful men who understand the position of you missionaries and who have a friendly feeling toward you. There was a time when our people wished to kill missionaries, and even at such a time you never said, 'Then we will go home.' A few Kumamoto men are not the representatives of the Kumi-ai churches. You must not take the matter too seriously. The time has not yet come when we break our relation with the American Churches."

No one rejoiced more heartily than Dr. Davis over the practical outgrowths of this independence agitation which became rapidly manifest within the Church. In 1895, the Kumi-ai churches decided to rely upon themselves for the future support of their Missionary Society, which, up to this time, had received large subsidies from the American Board. The result has been the substantial development of the work of the society, in which the missionaries have steadily cooperated upon the invitation of the Japanese. The growth of independent churches was also powerfully stimulated during these years, and though some were led to decline outside aid prematurely, it is clear that the independence movement, difficult as it was to confine within normal bounds, marked an epoch in the history of Christianity in Japan which has opened up new springs of power and blessing to the church.

As a relief to the strain of these anxious months his evangelistic tours, during week ends, and on longer occasions, were very effective. Here, immersed in the work upon which his heart was centered, he found peace of spirit and

a supreme satisfaction. The eagerness of the rural Christians for spiritual food and their earnest cooperation in his tours, the useful work in which he found the Doshisha graduates very generally engaged and the cordial greetings extended to him, all warmed his heart. The open-mindedness of the people and the vast country areas still unevangelized, deeply impressed him. It is probable that without this outlet for the expression of his evangelistic zeal and the enlarged horizon which these tours provided, he could hardly have had the courage to hold on. Contact with a wide circle of believers, together with concrete evidence of the power of the old Gospel to save men, offset the discouragement and sense of defeat which came to him in the vortex of discussion and criticism which surrounded him in Kyoto.

Another problem of this period was a growing sentiment in the mission and among the home constituency that the time had come to reduce the mission work and to gradually withdraw from Japan. The Japanese Church had attained such strength and aggressiveness that it was believed that the gradual reduction of missionary forces would prove a stimulus to the indigenous spread of Christianity. Such was the opposition of many leaders to missionaries and the difficulty of cooperation, that a further increase of foreign workers seemed likely to accentuate the existing irritation and to further retard the work.

He placed himself with great earnestness against this policy, urging that the independence movement was abortive, that the reaction against foreign cooperation was temporary, that Japan was not only far from being redeemed, but that to withdraw at that time was to leave the development of the field in the hands of men who had proved their unfitness to assume control. He wrote, September 30th, 1893: "I have seen another broadside in the 'Congregationalist,' from Japan, to the effect that the time is

drawing near when the work of the Board must be closed out here. I deprecate such statements; they are doing incalculable harm. . . . *These present waves will soon subside!!* It is a mistake to give the impression to the churches that are behind us that the work of the American Board is nearly done here. They will awake later to the fact that the forty millions of Japan are hardly touched by Christianity, that it will take from twenty to fifty years yet, more likely the longer term, if the foreign and Japanese forces cordially co-operate, to fully evangelise these millions. The few leaders among the Japanese and in our mission who are thinking of leaving the infant church to carry the work alone do not grasp the greatness of the task, nor the infinite peril which hangs over individual souls. . . . It may take more consecration to work in Japan, now, than to go to Africa. It may be that one must be willing to become a servant to a few of the leaders and sometimes have his feelings rudely trampled on, but any one with a full knowledge of the situation and a burning desire to tell the story, and with consecration enough to take a humble place, learn the language and begin direct work, will find a hearty welcome and an open door through a lifetime. Without a far greater miracle than the world has yet seen in missions, this work is not going to be accomplished in one generation. I believe that within a few years the Japanese will be calling as loudly as ever for more missionaries. The young church here needs to be kept steady, the 'bruised reed not broken and the smoking flax not quenched,' till she gains the victory over all these powerful influences that have so seriously interfered with her life and growth."

However keenly he felt the loss to the Kingdom which the reaction was bringing in Japan, his natural optimism and wide sweep of vision found expression in even his gloomiest pictures of the situation. Standing out in bold

contrast, yet woven inextricably, like the warp and woof of a garment, were his sensitiveness, which could not see without anxiety and keen suffering the loss of a single believer, and his prophetic vision and triumphant faith that invariably rallied to support him in the face of every crisis. From an article in the "Advance," of December, 1893: "Though there has been much harm wrought, we believe that the grand outcome of the whole will be good and for the success of the Kingdom of God. In spite of these vicissitudes we may still thank God that the young Church of Christ has met political excitement, intense nationalistic feeling and insidious rationalism without either shipwreck or great disaster. I believe that the crisis in all these movements, political, nationalistic and rationalistic, has been passed. There is a growing conviction that Christianity, alone, can furnish the moral, steadying influence needed to make representative government a success. There is a belief in the hearts of pastors and church members that they need a spiritual Christianity which only a divine and living Christ can give."

As the year of 1893 wore away, and the situation in the Doshisha showed signs of an increased tension, the difficulty of avoiding a complete break with the school became more and more apparent to the American Board Mission. On November 5th, Dr. Davis wrote to the Board, advising that any further endowment funds should be kept in America until the future of the school was more assured: "The end is not yet, either of our trials nor of the work of this mission."

Dr. Davis left Japan upon his third furlough, April 30th, 1894. Tired from the long strain under which he had been working, he had again and again considered resigning from the Doshisha. Each time, however, he had reconsidered the matter and determined to await a more rested condition before attempting to decide such an important ques-

tion. Before leaving the country, he addressed a letter to the Faculty and Trustees asking if they wished him to continue teaching upon his return to Japan. He considered that since he had never been called to the Faculty of the Doshisha by a Board of Trustees, but had grown up with the school, and since his views differed so fundamentally from those of its leaders, that it was only fair to give them a chance to say whether they wished him to continue in the chair of Theology. Upon leaving Japan, he packed his household goods in such a way that they could be shipped to America, in case he should not return. He also wrote to Dr. Roy, of the American Home Missionary Society, putting his case before him and asking that he be on the lookout for a field of work in the South for him in the near future.

The home journey was brightened by a visit with friends in Cheyenne, Wyoming, where Dr. Davis spoke at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of his old church. Of the reunion with the three children in Oberlin, he wrote: — "We reached Oberlin, where our three children were so anxiously awaiting our coming, at 7.45 P.M. It was nearly nine years since I had seen them. The girls looked natural, but my son had grown out of all recognition. I had left him a little boy of eleven; I found him, a man, four inches taller than myself, and it was six months before it seemed as if he belonged to me."

After a restful summer with his family at Lake George, N. Y., he attended the annual meeting of the American Board, visited his birthplace in Groton, N. Y., and settled for the winter in Oberlin, Ohio. Here he revised his lectures on Natural Theology, the Evidences of Christianity and Systematic Theology, and wrote many articles for the religious press.

February, 1895, found him in Boston, conferring with the Prudential Committee of the American Board, Mr.

Harris, the princely benefactor of the Doshisha, and other friends of the school, trying to reassure them regarding its future. Mr. Harris told him that he knew of more than a million dollars that had been written into wills for the Doshisha, which were now being taken out because of its changed spirit. These repeated conferences revealed the anxiety with which the developments in Japan were regarded. Dr. Davis could not see the situation drifting into an open break without one more effort at reconciliation. He wrote to the Doshisha Trustees, explaining why the American Board was troubled and pointing out the inevitable consequences of the present policy of the Doshisha.

His furlough closed with two months of speaking throughout Ohio, followed by a Commencement address at Beloit and reunions with his college class and with his comrades of the Fifty-second Illinois, at Elgin.

As the time drew near for his return, Dr. Davis ceased to question whether he was needed in Japan, feeling sure that he could be happy and busy in evangelistic work, should the Doshisha be closed to him. "I am pretty certain that if we will be but patient and hold on to God, the mud will speedily settle to the bottom, and the waters will clear. As to my own return to the work, in some capacity, I shall not ask any one's permission. My duty is in Japan, and if the Board should decide that they could not send me, and if the leaders in the Kumi-ai churches should express an opinion that I had better not come, I should still feel called to go, if any other board would support me. It is hard to prophesy about the immediate future, but God's Truth, Christ's divinity and His Kingdom can never be moved, although some men may be moved away from them."

Upon the resignation of several of the leading teachers and officers of the school, which occurred just prior to his return to Japan, he said: — "This open break is made on

the square issue of holding the Doshisha loyal to Christ and to the purpose for which it was founded. I feel encouraged. We must support President Kozaki in the stand he has taken. It is no time to withdraw. It would be as unwise, as I see it, as it would have been had the North, in 1861, withdrawn from Washington and given up the Union after the defeat of Bull Run. No, although many of our trusted leaders who have been educated in Doshisha, our West Point, turn against the Truth and against us, we must not give up, but rather call for '300,000 more,' and proceed to strengthen the things that remain."

Even as late as August, 1895, Dr. Davis was unwilling to consider the situation hopeless. He believed in the school and in the integrity of its Trustees and found it hard to acknowledge that complete disaster was ahead. He wrote to Boston, — "I do not yet believe that the Doshisha Trustees are going to cut loose from us nor from vital Christianity. It seems to me better to hold on quietly, and trust to time to cool some of them and to the Spirit of the Lord to open their hearts and reveal things in a proper light and allow them to return to sounder views."

Dr. Davis returned to Japan in September, 1895, in company with a deputation from the American Board, which had been appointed to study the problems of its work in Japan. After two months of conference with prominent Japanese Christians, missionaries of different societies and Japanese officials, they reported regarding Doshisha a marked concurrence in the opinion that a change had taken place in the spirit of the institution. It was quite generally affirmed that the Christian character and spiritual tone of the University were far less pronounced than formerly.

The following extract from the report of the deputation relating to a conference with the Trustees over the interpretation of the clause in the Constitution making Christian-

ity the foundation of the moral education of the Doshisha, is of interest. "We asked if they would affirm that the Doshisha stood for the personality of God, the divinity of Christ, and the future life. They declared that they could not. While as individuals they could affirm these beliefs, as Trustees they could not, since differences existed among Christians on these points, and they must not ally themselves with any party. When asked if they would accept the creed of the Kumi-ai churches in definition of the sense in which they used the word Christian, they declined, saying that they would thus identify themselves with a single denomination. When urged to make some statement, however brief, of what they meant by Christianity, since the word did not in their minds involve the above named beliefs, they declined. They said it was not necessary; that having declared their purpose to maintain a Christian institution, they should be trusted to do so; that to affirm the above named beliefs would narrow the basis of the university, would cause the resignation of professors whose services they did not wish to lose, and would repel students who were now encouraged to enter the school by its spirit of free inquiry. It was carefully explained to the Trustees that the American churches which contributed to the treasury of the Board, while not making a test of any creed, could hardly hold to be Christian those persons or institutions which refused to declare belief in a personal God, the divinity of Christ and the immortality of the soul. The reply was that the whole subject had been a matter of thought with them; that theological opinion in Japan was in a formative state and beliefs were unsettled; that for this reason and because it would be disastrous to act now, under appearance of compulsion, they could make no statement whatever, except that they would maintain a Christian university."

The deputation recommended to the Board that money

contributed for Christian education in Japan could not rightly be used indefinitely by the Doshisha, but that for the time being the American teachers be continued, that cooperation in the Theological Department remain as before and that the annual Board subsidy be gradually withdrawn, ceasing entirely within four years.

In the report of the Deputation relating to the Doshisha, the Trustees believed that the influence of the mission could be traced. They could not admit that the real spirit of the Doshisha had changed, nor consent to make the formal declaration of their faith which was insisted upon by the Deputation (as a means of relieving the uncertainty existing in the minds of American supporters of the school regarding its essential Christian purpose). It was natural that the coming of a foreign committee to examine into the alleged mismanagement of the Doshisha should be resented by the Japanese, and the difficulties before such a deputation in understanding the Japanese point of view during their brief stay in the country were obvious. The representatives of the American Board sailed for home without reaching an understanding with the Trustees and with the conviction heightened on both sides of the hopelessness of agreement, between the Doshisha and its foreign constituency.

The Kumi-ai churches were thoroughly aroused by the report of the deputation and appointed a committee to investigate and locate the blame for the condition of affairs. From the Japanese standpoint, the honor, not only of the Doshisha and the Kumi-ai body, but of the nation, was at stake; the blame settled naturally upon the missionaries, who, it was reported, had failed to correctly interpret the situation to the American Board, and there the matter rested for the time being, but the breach had been measurably widened and deepened.

The action of the government of the previous year in

exempting the students of government schools from the maximum conscription laws and in granting other privileges had been bringing powerful pressure to bear upon the Trustees of the Doshisha. Government schools prescribed the teaching of religion as a defined policy, and the question of regular Biblical teaching versus government privilege for the Doshisha was coming to the front. On April 6th, 1896, the faculty of the Doshisha voted to drop the Bible from the curriculum of the Academy. A leading member of the faculty, in supporting this action, said that the Bible was not Christianity, nor did it make Christianity, but that Christianity made the Bible, and now, when so many doubts were raised about the Bible, he believed it would be better to drop it and return to primitive Christianity and get the Truth by direct inner consciousness, through the aid of the Holy Spirit.

Succeeding events moved rapidly. Within a week of the faculty meeting whose decision was to have such momentous results the Trustees took formal action in deciding to completely separate the school from the American Board the following December, in so far as money and teachers were concerned. The causes of this decision were the hope to gain in enrollment, by securing equal privileges with government schools; the well-grounded fear lest without such privileges the Doshisha would be ruined; the desire to no longer be known as a mission school, and the belief that the new rôle would open up considerable sources of Japanese support. Finally, the Trustees believed that this step would meet the approval of liberal-minded friends in America who would sympathize with the stand they were taking and secure funds for the maintenance of the school.

It was now an open question in the missionary faculty whether its members should not resign at once, even in the midst of the term. Dr. Davis counselled deliberate action, urging that it would be fair neither to the school

nor to the Board to act before hearing from Boston, and before the mission could take united action in the matter. At its annual meeting in July the American Board Mission took formal action in notifying the Trustees of the withdrawal of its members from the faculty of the Doshisha.

In his reply to a missionary of another Board working in Japan, who asked him to summarize the mistakes of the policy which had led to this disaster, after frankly admitting certain mistakes, he said: "It is easy for men who have come later to Japan, and who stand and look on, to criticise, and to think they could have done a great deal better. Perhaps they would have done so. Among all the trials of my life, and I have had a good many, the greatest is to be willing to have my life work judged a failure by the Christian, the missionary world. I do not believe that God counts it thus. I became willing, however, two years ago, as the school went down, to become nothing in the eyes of men. It has been a blessed experience, which has made me realize more than ever before the preciousness of the fact that there is One who knows; knows my every thought and purpose, the tears and prayers and heartaches all these twenty-five years. That One is mine, and He is with me, and He is my judge, and not men, and so I rest."

His suffering during these months was acute. He felt that the work of twenty-five years had been wrecked; that the hundreds of letters which he had written, pleading for funds and for confidence in the Doshisha, had led the American Board and the Congregational constituency into the mistake of a great illusion. Yet even in the midst of anxiety the deepest he had experienced, his faith and indomitable courage did not fail him. He still believed that God would lead a way out. He believed that he was to have a part in finding that difficult path and that his work was not yet done. He uttered the prophetic words: — "I see nothing for it here, so far as our mission is concerned, but

for the 'Old Guard' to close up as they did around Napoleon at Waterloo, and fight till we die. It will not be a Waterloo, however. We shall gain the victory. It may be that with some of us it will be as with Mr. Harris, who said, 'We shall see it, but not here; we shall behold it, but from above'; but we shall surely see it, and I expect to see a good deal of it before I am through here."

Chapter XVI

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DOSHISHA

UPON his return to Kyoto, Dr. Davis was given a hearty welcome by the Japanese pastors and by many teachers in the Doshisha. He resumed his teaching in the Theological Department, but a light schedule enabled him to devote much of his time to preaching and evangelistic touring. He was asked to preach twice at the Doshisha, and although the school was even then upon the eve of separation from the mission, he was invited to deliver the address on the occasion of its Twentieth Anniversary. It was not an easy task. He seized the occasion to earnestly state that God was the founder of the Doshisha, that it had been sustained for twenty years by prayer, and that its only hope for future prosperity was in keeping it true to its original foundation as an earnest Christian school. Six months later, in June, 1886, with the other missionary teachers, he ceased his work in the Doshisha, the Trustees severing at the same time all connection with the American Board Mission.

A few months before he had declined to accept the position of honorary trustee, urged upon him by the Board of Directors of the Doshisha, who were loath to see the foreign element of the school becoming alienated. He considered it an anomaly to accept such an honor at the hands of many of the same men who had brought against him the unsubstantiated charges of the previous year. His reasons for leaving the Doshisha are stated in a letter to the President: "A year ago I met with the committee of the Science School, and advised a course of action which Mr. Harris desired. That advice was not taken. In the

meantime, Mr. Harris passed away. Last Fall I sent a letter to the Trustees giving extracts of Mr. Harris' last letters, showing how grieved he was that the Doshisha did not follow his advice. I was put upon the committee for the Science School at Mr. Harris' request. Under these circumstances, and since the Doshisha has severed connections with the American Board, it is not best for me to work with the committee. I shall be glad of any success that the Doshisha may gain, but I cannot cooperate with it in its regular work in any department. If ever I am desired to preach or teach a Bible class or lecture on spiritual subjects, I shall be glad to do so and I shall be glad to help any students spiritually in any way I can. . . . I do not believe that God's blessing will rest upon the Doshisha until the majority of its Board of Trustees are earnest Christian men and until it has similar men for its President, the heads of its departments and a majority of the teachers. There is only one thing in which the Doshisha can successfully compete with government schools, and that is in earnest Christian influence. If that can be kept pure and strong, those who realize the moral deficiency of government education will send their sons to Doshisha. That reputation is largely lost. It is a far greater loss than endowments and buildings. You will not agree with me, but it is due to you, to the school, to Mr. Neesima, to Mr. Harris and to the thousands in America and in Japan who are mourning over the present condition of the Doshisha, that I frankly tell you these things. I write in the memory of the love and service for Christ which have united us in the past, a love which is undiminished, and in the hope that God will lead us all into his light and truth."

In the fall of 1896, the Kyoto Station opened a small training class for theological students under the care of Messrs. Learned and Curtis. This was soon taken over by

the mission and the following autumn a Mission Theological School was formed, of which Dr. Davis became dean. A small group of students was gathered, and for over two years the school was carried on independently of the Doshisha. The school presented many problems. Theology was at a discount, Christianity at a low ebb and, moreover, the school started and managed by foreigners was not popular. The promising students attracted under these conditions were few, and among those gathered from distant parts of the empire were cases of unworthy men seeking the loaves. But the teaching with hands unshackled, and the training of the few students for service in a positive Christian environment was a deep satisfaction.

The early autumn brought severe illness to the Davis family. Two of the children were ill for many weeks with typhoid fever in the summer camp on Hieizan. Helen's case was so unusually severe and protracted that physicians repeatedly despaired of saving her life during the nine weeks in which she was wasted by the fever. The father and mother worked with tireless energy to check the excessive temperature. Men were employed night and day to carry cold water from a distant spring which was circulated in coiled tubes about the head of the little patient. Dr. Davis from first to last took charge of the case, and scarcely leaving the bedside for two months, literally saved the life of the little daughter who had accompanied him back to Japan, and to whom his heart was always drawn with especially tender ties.

In January, 1898, the Trustees of the Doshisha applied to the Department of Education for the privileges enjoyed by government schools, but were refused upon the ground that the Doshisha was an avowedly religious institution and, as such, was not entitled to these privileges. On the 23rd of February, the Trustees, in quarterly session at Tokyo, voted to strike out the sixth article of the Consti-

tution, which stated that the first five articles were unchangeable.[1] They then rescinded Article Two, which provided that the clause stating Christianity to be the moral foundation of the school applied to all departments of the institution. This made possible the exclusion of Biblical instruction and all religious exercise in the Academy, the College, the School of Law and Economics and the Scientific School, though the third article still applied to the Theological Department which had now practically ceased to exist. In this way the Doshisha would secure full recognition by the Department of Education with the privileges of exemption from military service, etc.

In defence of this action it should be stated that it was an expression of the extreme nationalistic spirit and liberal religious views prevailing at the time. Two trustees registered their protest against the Board's decision by tendering their resignations. Five of the Board were new members and others had lost vital interest in the affairs of the Doshisha. Loyalty to their President who, according to Japanese custom, is held responsible for corporate action, required them to either uphold him or resign. The only alternative was to force him to resign. They were not prepared to follow either of these latter courses. In upholding their conduct it was pointed out that the rights of the large non-Christian Japanese donors took precedence of those of foreign friends; that the views of missionaries should no longer control, and it was time to decide whether the

[1] "Doshisha Constitution. Chapter One:

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

"1. This Company is established to promote moral and intellectual education in close union.
"2. The name of the Company is 'The Doshisha.' All schools of the Company must have 'Doshisha' as a part of their name, and this Constitution applies to them all.
"3. Christianity is the foundation of the moral education promoted by this Company.
"4. This Company is located in Kyoto.
"5. The principal of the permanent funds of the Company is not to be used under any circumstances.
"6. The above five articles are unchangeable."

Doshisha was a Japanese or a foreign institution; that a school must be adapted to changing conditions; that though the Christian sign was taken down the Christian spirit remained, and that under the old constitution the school would have been reduced to a negligible quantity. Voluntary Sunday services and Bible classes remained for those who wished to attend and the real Christian character of the school was not changed.

This news, which shocked Christian friends on both sides of the Pacific and which aroused earnest protests from even the secular press and public in Japan, came to Dr. Davis as a distinct relief. For some time he had considered this action of the Board inevitable and a logical climax to the course of events, and so was in a measure prepared for it. A heavy burden was lifted from his heart, now that the mists which for years had been obscuring the whole Doshisha situation had blown away and a clean-cut issue stood revealed. The way was open so that a clear statement of facts about the Doshisha could get a hearing. Since he had been so largely responsible for starting the school, and had been for more than twenty years advising the Board and American friends to put money into it as a missionary investment, he felt that it was his duty to throw his whole soul into the effort to bring the Doshisha back to its original foundation. "I resolved to risk everything by open and bold action in a struggle to save the school. I could do no less if I knew it was to be the last thing I ever did."

During the week following the action of the Doshisha Trustees, he wrote an article of twenty-five hundred words, entitled "The recent *coup de grâce* of the Doshisha," in which he gave a concise statement of the facts attending the founding of the school, together with a summary of its history and development. He pointed out that the thousands of dollars given by friends in America were contributed solely on the basis of the Christian foundation of the

Doshisha, which had now been removed through the action of the Trustees. In closing he said, "If a Board of Trustees, all of whom are professing Christians and many of whom are men in high positions, can deliberately sweep away a sacred trust which was declared in the Constitution to be unalterable, what foundations of honor and trust are there among the Japanese people? This will be the swift, inevitable question of all enlightened nations. It is a fatal stab at the Doshisha and at the fair reputation of my adopted country."

He took the article for verification of facts to Dr. Learned, and, then, without seeking the advice of anyone as to the wisdom of the course he was about to take, sent it to the "Japan Mail" for publication, at the same time ordering a thousand copies printed as an open letter. These he sent to all the members of his mission, to a majority of the missionaries in Japan, to nearly all the pastors of the Kumi-ai body and to many representatives of other churches. A few days later he published the same article in the "Kirisutokyo Shimbun," the weekly paper of the Kumi-ai churches, one thousand special copies of which were circulated among the Japanese. March 20th, he wrote a second article for the "Japan Mail," giving additional facts and information regarding the history of the Doshisha case. This was sent in large numbers to pastors and others in the United States and in Japan, including many prominent government officials and laymen interested in the Doshisha.

Dr. Davis attended the annual conference of the Kumi-ai churches in Tokyo on April 7th, and was given a warm greeting by a large majority of the delegates. Two days later, at the Twentieth Anniversary of the Japanese Home Missionary Society, he was asked to close the final session with the Benediction. No other foreigner had been given a part in these exercises, and it was evident that the stand

he was taking was supported by a majority of his Japanese brethren. The conference sessions were full of suppressed feeling, and resolutions were passed by a large majority severely condemning the action of the Trustees in changing the Constitution of the Doshisha and admonishing them to restore it. Dr. Davis wrote to Boston: — "The tide of public protest is rising higher and higher. Local conferences of our churches and the former graduates and students of the Doshisha are protesting. Mass meetings of Christians in Tokyo and Kyoto, without regard to denomination, unite in protesting. The leading Christian merchants of Tokyo have sent their protest. The "Kirisutokyo Shimbun" has been filled with opposition to this action for four weeks in succession. The secular press, also, is entering most vigorous protest. One leading paper says the Trustees have completely betrayed their trust. Another says they have ruined the school. Others call on them to return the money to the donors. . . . There is a tremendous storm brewing among the alumni. They are all writing to me for facts and ammunition. Letters of thanks are coming from every direction. I am urging them to secure reorganization of the Board of Trustees, selecting earnest Christian men, elected for a limited term of years by a responsible body, say, one half by the Kumi-ai body and one half by the Evangelical Alliance of Japan. We may not succeed at once in this, but God can and will use this to his glory here. This mighty movement among the churches will do much to bring them back to a definite declared evangelical faith, and so we thank God and take courage for the cloud, though very dark, has a silver lining and will eventually pass away."

On April 28th he sent to Boston his convictions regarding the necessity of an appeal to the courts for a settlement of the Doshisha problem. "It seems to me that either the Board, or some one acting for Mr. Harris, ought

to put this into the Japanese courts, at once. Two of the best lawyers in this part of Japan are ready to push it. It seems to us here that we owe it to you, to Mr. Harris and to the general interests involved, to take this course. I feel that we ought to do this, even if we knew we would lose, because then the public would see that we had done all that we could to secure justice, but I do not believe that the case would be lost in a Japanese court. . . . The other missions feel that this is a case which vitally affects their work and the whole cause of Christ. We are experiencing rather severe criticism from some of them, but when all the facts are known they will modify or suspend their judgments."

General N. W. McIvor, an American lawyer of exceptional ability, was recommended to the American Board to handle the Doshisha case. Mr. McIvor had served as Consul-General for four years in Yokohama, and was being considered by the United States as a commissioner to reorganize the new Hawaiian government, a consideration calculated to largely enhance his influence in the prosecution of a legal case in the Japanese courts.

At a regular meeting of the Doshisha Alumni Association, the President of the school made a statement of the demands of the American Board. He said that they would not restore the Constitution, that they were making a new one in accordance with the new Code of Civil Law, which when filed would be unchangeable. He intimated that the Trustees would not resign or return the money. When resolutions approving the course of the Trustees were proposed fifteen members left the hall, including the chairman. The remainder then passed resolutions to the effect that the recent change in the Doshisha was inevitable in order to meet the changed spirit of the age in Japan; that while the decision was good, the procedure was reprehensible, because the Trustees did not consult the alumni, and that the spirit of the Doshisha was unchanged and remained as

Christian as ever. "Several Japanese tell me that their evident policy is to delay definite answer to the Board as long as possible, get the new Constitution on record and hope for a gradual change in public sentiment. You will find it very tedious dealing with this case from America and should send Mr. McIvor as soon as possible to handle matters at first hand."

In July, Dr. Barton wrote to Dr. Davis: — "I am glad you wrote that article for the 'Japan Mail.' I have sent a copy to the 'Independent,' and have used the slips here very satisfactorily. It is not time to keep silent. I think you have reached a place in mission work where you need to hold out and hold on, but where the necessity for *holding in*, is considerably passed. We all profoundly appreciate the noble work you are doing, and I am sure that if the work of the last few months was the only work which you have ever done in Japan, it would be a full justification for your life service. I hear from every side only strong expressions of commendation. I, at once, put copies of your documents of May 28th and 29th into General McIvor's hands. It will interest you to know that our committee is a unit in the matter of reconstruction. We have no thought of compromise or of giving up now. Do care for yourself and not overwork, for we need you now and we shall need you when the reorganization comes. It will require steady hands and level heads for sometime yet. May the Lord give you strength and a vocabulary to express everything needful in these times of trial."

At the Annual Meeting of the American Board Mission, Drs. Albrecht, Davis and Gordon were appointed a Committee on the Doshisha Question. They were empowered to present to the Trustees the grounds of mission dissatisfaction with the administration of the institution, and with the Japanese plan of cooperation, to make a positive statement of the conditions on which future cooperation was

possible, and to take such other steps in the matter as should seem wise. The American Board gave General McIvor and Drs. Davis and Learned the power of attorney in the Doshisha case, with instructions to appeal to the courts, if necessary. The authority to act was given to any two of the three men.

After being met by Dr. Davis in Yokohama on the 20th of September, General McIvor proceeded to an interview in Tokyo with Premier Count Okuma, who promised to use his influence to secure a fair adjustment of the American Board's claims. This was followed by a conference with members of the Board of Trustees, in which Drs. Gordon, Learned, Davis and General McIvor took part. After a clear presentation of the case of the American Board by General McIvor, Dr. Learned made a strong statement, emphasizing the fact that it would now take a much stronger Constitution than the old one to restore confidence in the school. They were told that if the representatives of the mission insisted upon taking legal measures in the Doshisha case, their influence and reputation as missionaries in Japan would be gone. Dr. Davis replied: "This case is broader and more important than the reputation of any one, or any number of missionaries, and even if we knew that it would result in our having to leave Japan, we would have to make an effort to have the wrong righted." This was the first of a long series of conferences in which little headway was made, since the Trustees tried to justify their action and the missionaries, with their legal adviser, urged the demands of the American Board. At length, on the 7th of November, the final answer of the Trustees was given, in which they declined to restore the original constitution of the Doshisha and stated that a new constitution had been completed.[1]

[1] From the vantage point of sixteen years, we may, while not exonerating the perversion of funds held in trust for Christian education, at least, find more explicable the position of the Doshisha Trustees. Here were two groups of Christian men, each

There now seemed no other course than to institute legal proceedings. Dr. Learned felt strongly that, as a matter of conscience, he could take no part in forcing a legal issue with the Japanese, and returned to his duties as Treasurer of the Mission and teacher in the Theological School in Kyoto. Dr. Gordon, however, consented to remain to help in the preparation of the case and to give valuable counsel and moral support.

October 2nd, Dr. Davis wrote to Boston: — "We are to meet the Trustees, on the Fourth, to examine the draft of this new constitution. I am not very hopeful. With God all things are possible. My hope is in Him." "October 8th, There has been no change in the general situation since the Trustees declined to include a clear statement in the Constitution that Christianity is the basis of moral education in all departments of the Doshisha. We stand there, and having done all, expect to stand there, even if it results in going into the courts. Count Okuma had a long, unofficial interview with U. S. Minister Buck and asked him to see Gen'l McIvor and try to avert a lawsuit."

Minister Buck held a conference with General McIvor (on the tenth), in which he stated that he was in thorough agreement with the position of the American Board and urged him on no account to yield. He assured him that he would do anything in his power to further a right settlement of the question and asked for a careful statement of the case, which he could present to Count Okuma in person. Dr. Davis spent several days in gathering the mate-

actuated by high motives of honor, attempting to conduct the Doshisha according to their convictions of the right. Representing two irreconcilable interpretations of what constitutes a Christian school, a conflict was inevitable. All honor to the party which having upheld its position to the last, yielded in such a way as to enable the school to continue with the least possible embarrassment, under the régime of the men to whom they surrendered. When we recall that the founders of the Doshisha had opened the school under compulsion of excluding formal Biblical teaching, and as we consider that other mission schools have removed instruction in the Bible and in religion from the class rooms of their middle schools in order to retain Government recognition, with the verdict that vital Christian influence has not been weakened by this course, we find that we must exercise a more charitable judgment in this whole matter than was possible under the anxieties and deep feeling of the hour.

rial which went into this document. Later he wrote: "The whole matter is in a most interesting stage. The United States Minister and the Prime Minister of Japan are both actively interested, the Trustees are very uneasy and we hold an impregnable position, standing for a vital principle. The time in which the new constitution must be filed with the government expires in two days, and Col. Buck has promised to officially receive and forward to the Japanese Government our protest against the acceptance of any constitution which we have not approved. This would put the matter into the Executive Department and make it a diplomatic question."

It was fortunate that the Doshisha question did not assume narrow, national lines. It was in no sense a case of America against Japan. The best-minded among the Japanese, of every profession and faith, made protest against an act whose consequences could only result in stigmatizing the country. Leaders in the Kumi-ai Church, pastors and prominent graduates of the Doshisha wrote to Dr. Davis to stand firm on the high ground which he and General McIvor had taken. The large majority of his own mission stood solidly behind him. He had the satisfaction of Dr. Gordon's daily counsel and cooperation, which was a tower of strength to him during the autumn. Moreover, though experts differed on the question, the case of the American Board appealed to the judgment of some of the greatest lawyers in Japan as certain of victory, if put into the courts.

On November fourth, in a long interview with two leading trustees, Dr. Davis was charged with inconceivable discourtesy and lack of consideration for the Department of Education and the Minister of Education of the empire. They said that such rudeness in a man who had lived so long in Japan and who knew the Japanese so well was inexplicable. Dr. Davis replied that since he must either

be impolite to the God who had founded the Doshisha and the Christ in whose faith the school had for more than twenty years been administered, and in which the Constitution of the school had been built, or to the Department of Education, he would have to choose the latter. When he expressed the belief that Doshisha would gain the government privileges without the sacrifice of principle, in five years, the Trustees replied that they would not be granted in thirty.

A little later in a conference with members of the Board of Trustees and their supporters, aiming at reconciliation, matters had reached an impasse, when one of the group declared that he could bear it no longer and rushed from the room. Dr. Gordon sprang after him, overtook him before he could leave the house, and leading him gently by the arm back into the midst of the group, said: "We must pray together before you go away." They all knelt down and prayed with a spirit that completely melted the little company. Then followed another hour of quieter conference, in which they were drawn more closely together.

This incident is typical of the spirit brought by Dr. Gordon into the work of those days. While Dr. Davis hammered away in frontal attacks, his colleague kept the spirit of brotherhood in Christ to the fore, and thus rendered a service of incalculable value. The two men, for fifteen years close and sympathetic friends, made a very strong team. They supplemented each other to an unusual degree. There was no one in Japan who influenced Dr. Davis more, whose judgment he more valued, or whose tactful friendship and loving devotion moulded and softened him, as the man who now stood shoulder to shoulder with him through these months of struggle.

No one had suffered more keenly from the defection of the Doshisha than Dr. Gordon. None had watched its separation from vital Christianity, the fall from its noble

estate, with a sadder heart than he. He had borne his share of criticism and disappointment, and with failing strength had carried an increasing amount of responsibility in the school and in evangelistic work. The Doshisha crisis found him in frail health and the long weeks of intense conference and anxiety over the ultimate outcome bore heavily upon him. He returned to Kyoto on the 28th of October, greatly wearied, and never fully rallied from this weariness, going to America the following spring and on into the presence of the Master whom he had served so loyally, not long after. With him passed a rare combination of qualities that has never been fully replaced in the American Board Mission in Japan. A gentleness, bulwarked with strength, a devoutness and spiritual power, a capacity for friendship and wise counsel, a ripened scholarship and evangelistic power, a spirit of love and genial fellowship, that has left its permanent impress upon the Kumi-ai Church and the large group of workers, both Japanese and American, who were privileged to be his associates.

In justice to the Trustees of the Doshisha, it must be admitted that they supported their position with an able and interesting line of argument. This was published by their chairman in the "Japan Mail" of March 11th, 1899. They held that Christianity was the basis of the moral education of the Doshisha, but understood this phrase to mean that Christianity was an essential element of moral education. They did not consider Doshisha a school for the propagation of Christianity, but interpreted Mr. Neesima's conception of a liberal educational institution in a broad way, without reference to religious creeds or exercises. They did not consider that the exclusion of the Bible conflicted with this broad interpretation of the purposes of the school. Without government privileges the Middle School[1]

[1] Academy.

was doomed; without a successful Middle School the great purpose of Mr. Neesima's life, a Christian university, could not be realized. To the Trustees the end justified the means. They believed that while religion and education went hand in hand, there was a clear delineation between the spheres of religion and education in the institution and that the growth of a free religious spirit would be improved by keeping religious teaching and ceremonial out of the class room. Finally, they understood that no part of the gifts to Doshisha, except the Harris Fund of $100,000, had been made conditional on Biblical teaching, nor that the Doshisha had made any promise to the donors, with the exception of the Harris Fund, which rendered their action a breach of trust. By cancelling Article VI of the Constitution they had no intention of changing the principles of the institution, but wished to clear the way for a new constitution based upon the new Civil Code of the empire. Thus, by creating Doshisha a Juridical Person and giving it a recognized status in the system of government education they would confer a great and lasting benefit upon the institution and put in it a way of realizing the plans of its founder.

The American Board's representatives replied that the Doshisha was not a Joint Stock Company but was virtually a Trust Company; that every dollar given to the institution was given in trust for the maintenance of Christian schools, in proof of which they held the original document of the organization of the company; that they could not, on behalf of the donors, recognize a school as Christian out of which the Bible and all Christian exercises had been excluded; moreover, that the Harris Fund, which the Trustees admitted had been given conditionally, was being used for the upkeep of the Middle School; that not only this large gift, but all subsequent foreign gifts, were given on the assumption that the statement in Article VI, making

the Constitution forever unchangeable, would be honored by the Trustees, and now that the Trustees had abolished the old constitution they demanded its restitution and stated that the American Board would be satisfied with nothing less.

After many weeks of conference, proposals and counter-proposals, little headway had been made. The Trustees would not yield the main point in question, but kept urging arbitration and compromise. They were willing to give up certain points in their position, provided the American Board would do the same. They finally proposed that Christianity be excluded from the Middle School only, and be reinstated in all other departments. General McIvor's reply was that they were willing to arbitrate everything but the fundamental proposition that Christianity was to be the foundation of the moral teaching of all the schools. To this, on the tenth, the Trustees replied with a determined negative.

There was now no other way but to institute legal proceedings. General McIvor and Dr. Davis decided to secure Mr. Masujima, a corporation lawyer of the greatest ability. After a conference of the three men, on November 29th, Dr. Davis was asked to prepare a chronological statement of the history and facts of the whole Doshisha case, to be used as the basis of Mr. Masujima's brief. During the first half of December he was busy preparing this document. "We have gained an advantage by allowing everything possible to be done, during two months, to effect a peaceful settlement, so we have Count Okuma's goodwill and that of others, as we begin this step. I believe God has been controlling events better than we have dared to hope. Mr. Masujima has studied over the prepared statement, and thinks we have a very strong case."

About this time, Dr. James L. Barton wrote to him: "You have taken high ground on this Doshisha question

and have maintained it with great force. I believe that the position taken by the Kumi-ai Conference and by the Christians, generally, in Japan, is due, in no small measure, to your own statements of the situation, which have helped them to see the matter in its true light. You have taken a position that needs to be held. Remember that back of you are not only the Prudential Committee but the entire American Board and the Christian sentiment of the world."

It was fortunate for the American Board that Minister Buck took such a lively interest in the Doshisha case. His repeated interviews with Count Okuma and Marquis Ito deepened the conviction of these statesmen of the justice of the American Board's claims. An additional consideration was the fact that the long-looked-for treaties, placing Japan on an equal footing with western nations in matters of legal jurisdiction and customs revenue, were at that time on the point of becoming effective. This fact impressed them with the seriousness of the situation from the international standpoint. Such a question as this must be kept out of the courts.

The filing of the new Doshisha Constitution with the Department of Education was the occasion for Minister Buck to assist in an official capacity, and he at once sent a protest to the Department against the acceptance of the changed constitution. This protest and the prospect of legal proceedings by the American Board stirred the Department to action. Here was a case coming before the attention of western countries which would expose the inconsistencies of its restrictions upon religion and upon the religious freedom guaranteed by the Japanese Constitution. The Minister of Education sent for Minister Buck and the President of the Doshisha Trustees, and, after a long conference, requested the latter for a statement of the controverted points and of the American Board's claims.

He next had an interview with General McIvor and

Mr. Masujima, and told them that the matter had been discussed by the counsellors into the small hours of the previous night, and that they were to meet again that day to decide the general question of their policy toward Christian schools, which could not be put off longer. He added that treaty revision was soon to come into effect and that the reference of this matter to them by the United States Minister and the pending lawsuit made some change imperative, either the giving of religious freedom to Christian schools, with the privileges, or the taking away of the privileges they had given to the Doshisha, for, he said, "We now understand that these schools of the Doshisha to which we have given the privileges were founded and are being supported by Christian money, which was given on the basis of their Christian character, and hence it can not go on as it is."

On November 19th, Dr. Davis wrote to Secretary Barton, advising him to seek an interview with Secretary Hay of the Department of State regarding the Doshisha case. He had no thought of the United States government interfering in the matter, but feared lest the Trustees might prejudice the State Department through the Japanese Minister in Washington. To safeguard against possible developments, Dr. Barton followed the advice from Japan and effected an interview with Secretary Hay, but not before the private settlement of the dispute had been secured in Japan.

Count Okuma took high ground in support of the American Board's claims. On the 19th of November, he told General McIvor that there were but two alternatives open to the Trustees: — to subscribe the money to buy the American Board's investment in the Doshisha, or to go back to the Constitution, lose the government privileges, and take the chance of gaining them later. He stated that his interest in the Doshisha case was threefold: First, his

interest in Mr. Neesima's memory; second, his interest in preserving the friendship of the American nation, and, third, his desire to see what he considered a wrong act righted. He said, moreover, that if the representatives of the American Board went to law, they went with his good will, but that he believed it would be unnecessary.

One of the cross-currents of public opinion that had to be met was the belief of not a few friends of the Doshisha, who really sympathized with the effort to restore the Constitution, that if the American Board were successful in the contest with the Trustees, the missionaries would control the future Doshisha and that it would lose its broad educational ideals and become a mission school. It was not an easy matter to convince the Japanese public that the American Board could go to such lengths as to retain two lawyers and depute two of its leaders to contend for only a principle. There were many doubts and speculations regarding the motives of the principal actors in such a novel contest. It was at this point that Dr. Davis was able to render a valuable service. His acquaintance among alumni and friends of the Doshisha was very wide, and he had been known, from the beginning, to be pledged to its highest interests. He sought out prominent Doshisha men in the capital, discussed the main issue in the case, clarified their doubts as to the ultimate outcome for the Doshisha and gained their support of the American Board's action. He assured these men that the restoration of the school to its original status was the sole motive of the Board, that it was a secondary matter whether the school ever returned to cooperation with the mission, that it was doubtful whether the Board or American friends would cooperate with the Doshisha again, but that they longed to have its fair name and the right of donors restored inviolate and protected for the future.

The latter part of December, Dr. Davis returned to

Kyoto to spend Christmas with his family and to look up certain old Doshisha documents. He wrote the day before Christmas to Dr. Barton: — "The promised decision of the Department of Education has not come and it begins to look as if they are merely temporizing. We await the result in hope, but unless God is with us, the matter will not be satisfactorily settled, although the Trustees resign." It was a trying situation in which to be patient. He urged his legal advisers to notify the Department that they would wait no longer in sending notice of litigation to the Trustees, but Mr. McIvor advised a little longer delay, hoping that the deadlock would collapse of itself.

December 29th, a letter reached Dr. Davis from General McIvor stating that the Trustees had sent in their resignations to the Department of Education. The mass of evidence which had been arrayed against them, the general note of dissatisfaction that was growing in volume among the public, as well as in the ranks of their alumni, together with the pressure brought to bear from the highest official circles of the empire, had at last forced them to realize that there was no alternative but resignation. The tension of many months was over and the way was at last open for a restored Doshisha.

Chapter XVII

"RECONSTRUCTION"

THE resignation of the Trustees of the Doshisha in no sense implied that a new and restored school was guaranteed upon the basis of the original constitution. Both in enrollment and in reputation the Doshisha had dropped so far that it was pointed to as a conspicuous case of a Christian school that had run on the rocks. The impression was abroad that the American Board had taken its strong action in order to gain entire control of the institution and that it would now be a purely mission school. Under these conditions, where were the able men who could be induced to become members of the new Board of Trustees? Who, indeed, would be bold enough to attempt to play the difficult game of cooperation with the American Board and its missionaries? This was the new problem which faced the American Board's representatives, a problem as much more difficult than the legal issue they had been forcing as diplomacy and reconstruction is a greater task than war and destruction.

Upon receiving word of the resignation of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Barton wrote to Dr. Davis, "This resignation only clears the way for further action. You have a most delicate task to perform; delicate because you cannot dictate terms, while you must secure concessions and privileges in the new organization which will prevent a recurrence of this deplorable event. You have, indeed, a tremendous task before you to get the Doshisha into shape again."

Drs. Davis and Gordon spent the first two months of 1899 in an incessant search for a new Board of Trustees

Those weeks of careful negotiation and conference, of approach to man after man upon the subject of trusteeship, of meeting opposition to some excellent candidates, of disappointment in the refusal of others, were among the most wearing of the whole winter, but were made joyful by the expectation of success. The difficulty lay not in finding able men, of consecrated Christian character, but to find men who were willing to assume the responsibility of reorganization and men who were acceptable to not only the alumni of the school, but, also, to the large benefactors who had created its endowment funds. Count Okuma and Baron Shibusawa, prominent among the donors to the Doshisha, were sympathetic and broadminded regarding the problem of the new Board. They were strong in their conviction that the new men must all be earnest Christians, in order to win back the support and confidence of former friends and the American constituency. The question of the president of the Board was a central one, and upon it hung the winning of other men to its membership.

Dr. Davis called upon Mr. Saibara, a prominent Member of Parliament from Kochi. He promised to serve on the Board if Mr. Kataoka Kankichi, a fellow member from Kochi and for many years the President of the Lower House of Parliament, would consent to take the presidency of the school. To secure such a fearless Christian statesman as head of the Doshisha would be a first guarantee of success. It would attract other strong men to the Board and would win popular confidence in the school. Dr. Davis endorsed Dr. Greene's suggestion of electing Mr. Kataoka, President of the Board of Trustees and Honorary President of the School, and of appointing a Vice-President who would be the acting head of the Doshisha. He wrote a general letter reporting the progress of negotiations for Trustees to his colleagues of the Kyoto station, and asked their consent to approach Mr. Kataoka. He feared, most of all,

the possibility of a triangular deadlock in the event of three conflicting groups of candidates being chosen by the alumni, by the donors and by the representatives of the American Board, and for this reason he looked to the coming interviews with Count Okuma and Baron Shibusawa as of the utmost significance. "Count Okuma finally fixed last Sabbath morning as the time for giving his decision about the candidates we had named. I felt somewhat as I did on that beautiful Sabbath day at Shiloh, thirty-six years ago, that this was not exactly Sabbath business, but as I was not responsible for bringing on the engagement any more than the one at Shiloh, I decided that it was the Lord's business and went with General McIvor and Mr. Masujima to the Count's residence." His relief was great when the Count expressed his pleasure at having a full list of earnest Christian men as Trustees, and later ratified the nominees of the American Board and named one of his own choice. The first man to consent to act upon the new board was Mr. Tomioka, chaplain of the Sugamo Prison in Tokyo. On January 16th Dr. Davis called upon Mr. President Kataoka, of the Lower House of Parliament, who received him cordially and was delighted to learn of the prospective restoration of the Doshisha. When Dr. Davis proposed his accepting the presidency of the school, Mr. Kataoka said that he was not fitted for the position, but that if the Board of Trustees presented the matter to him he would carefully consider it. On hearing of the interview with Mr. Kataoka, Mr. Saibara promised Dr. Davis to serve as a trustee. Mr. Kondo, a prominent Christian manufacturer of Tokyo, after a conference which lasted three hours, also consented to become a member of the Board.

The former Trustees had shown great consideration in resigning in such a way as to make the transfer of the school as simple a matter as possible. If they had resigned

in a body, without appointing representatives to pass over the property to the new Board, the situation would have been highly complicated. There now followed a period of three weeks of work upon a new constitution and arrangements for the nomination of members representing the alumni and the donors. General McIvor prepared a draft of the Constitution which was in harmony with the original principles of the Doshisha and in accord with the new Civil Code and which also safeguarded the future interests of the American Board.

Dr. Davis utilized this lull in his work by publishing a small book on the Pentateuch. He also became interested in the work of Chaplain Tomioka in the Sugamo Prison. The prisoners were in need of good literature. He published a sketch of Mr. Tomioka's life and work for prison reform, mailed it to two hundred foreign business men in Yokohama and, with General McIvor's cooperation, called upon most of them during February, soliciting funds for the prisoners. Six hundred yen was raised in this way for a prison library at Sugamo. That Dr. Davis, with the strain of the last months and the load of Doshisha problems upon his shoulders, could, in this interval, throw himself so heartily into an entirely different work and carry it through successfully, impressed General McIvor with his versatility.

The new Board was formally appointed February 11th, 1899, and six days later met in Tokyo, rescinded the action of their predecessors and reinstated the exscinded articles of the original constitution of the Doshisha. "It seems a strange coincidence," he wrote, "that just one year after the Constitution was broken, we are met here in the same city to perfect its restoration, and, as we hope, set forces in motion which will restore the school. General McIvor, Mr. Kondo and I have had two hours and a half talk and lunched together at the Tokyo Club, and now go to Kudan

to have our photo taken with the new Board. Then we go to Dr. Greene's home for dinner and the final business session, and close the evening with a praise service. There is a driving rainstorm, today, cold and dismal without, but the cheer within the soul is so great that we do not notice the weather."

At this meeting the definition of the Christianity which should be the basis of the moral instruction in the Doshisha was debated. The discussion centered upon the use of the word "Evangelical," since its meaning in Japan had become ambiguous. Finally, Dr. Davis wrote out a statement, which, after slight modification, was adopted. It read:—"It is understood by us that the Christianity which is to form the basis of the moral teaching in all departments of the Doshisha, under the unchangeable principles of its Constitution, is that body of living and fundamental Christian principles believed and accepted in common by the great Christian churches of the world."

Dr. Barton wrote:—"Allow me to say that we all feel that you and Mr. McIvor have managed the case with wonderful skill. We do not believe that you have done this through your own wisdom, alone, but that you have had divine help. If you are able to bring about a recognition of religious institutions in Japan, it will be a great thing accomplished. That time will have to come and undoubtedly your efforts have tended to hasten it. It cannot be but that out of this will grow a deeper respect for Christian morality and I have no doubt that the American Board with its mission in Japan will stand for more hereafter than it ever has before."

On the following Monday, March 6th, Dr. Davis started for home upon the noon train. "The great struggle was ended; God had given us the victory. The Doshisha was to be restored and saved. The first few miles, I was the only passenger in the second-class compartment. My feel-

ings completely overcame me and I broke down and wept for very joy, like a child." Except for two very brief trips to Kyoto, he had been away from home and family for six months. During this time he had declined every social or speaking engagement that could detract from the successful pursuit of the one object of his enforced stay in the North. Aside from the frequent entertainment that he enjoyed in the hospitable home of Dr. and Mrs. Greene in Tokyo, he had accepted but one social engagement during this half year of work. It had been a period of exile, but the satisfactory outcome was its own reward.

Following his return to Kyoto, General and Mrs. McIvor visited for four days in Dr. Davis' home. An interesting friendship had arisen between the two men. Thrown almost constantly into each other's company under most trying circumstances, for six months, they grew to know one another intimately. General McIvor had a warm sympathy for the type of Christian work represented by the Doshisha. His admiration for his missionary colleague was sincere. "I have seldom, if ever, seen a man of such combined force and genuine religion as Dr. Davis. His religion was expressed in so many practical, broad ways that he exerted a strong influence upon every one he met. His theology may have been conservative, but I never knew a broader man in interests, or one more lenient in his judgment and criticisms. I gained a new conception of Christianity in my association with him. His determination and impetuosity were great and sometimes exceeded his tact and diplomacy, but his heart always rang true and he was absolutely open and aboveboard in everything that he attempted. A remarkable characteristic was his ability to hold the personal friendship and admiration of the men he was most earnestly opposing." On the other hand, Dr. Davis gained strong impressions of General McIvor. "I never saw such iron will and such clear, forceful logic

DR. DAVIS AT THE GRAVE OF NEESIMA

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combined in one man before," he said, in describing the lawyer's attitude in his first interview with the Board of Trustees.

Hard duties seemed naturally to fall to him. A prominent member of the old Board, strongly backed by a group of his fellow trustees and the choice of a large body of alumni, was a candidate for the office of president. The mission was a unit against his appointment, a small minority of Japanese opposed him and the American Board did not favor him for the position. Four exciting sessions of the Board of Trustees were held in Kyoto on the 12th and 13th of March. At midnight of the 13th, when a prominent trustee said that he would resign if the popular candidate was not elected, and one or two others made the same statement, such expressions as, "Well, we all might as well resign," began to circulate the table. Finally one of the trustees arose and asked Dr. Davis which he thought preferable, to elect the candidate in question, as president of Doshisha, or to close the school for a few years. It was a trying question to answer in the presence of the candidate and his supporters, but without a moment's hesitation, the reply came, "I think it would be better to close the school." "I went home and to bed, but not to sleep, and spent the night in prayer. I did not know whether I should find that we had a Board of Trustees the next morning or not. . . . I found, however, soon after reaching the hall, that the ship had righted itself." Two different groups of trustees had been led during the night to think of Mr. Saibara, the Member of Parliament, for President of the Board. Mr. Saibara's name had been proposed before his arrival, and upon coming into the room and being told that he was nominated for the presidency, he immediately said that he was not fitted for the post and laid his head upon the table and sobbed. He begged to be released, but all were unanimous and urged so earnestly that Mr. Sai-

bara, at length, consented. Mr. Hirotsu, who had recently returned from America, was nominated as Acting Principal of the school.

Of that midnight meeting he wrote: "It seemed as if the new Board were going to pieces. . . . It was a terrible test for these young, untried men to have to go against the alumni, and against the solid faculty of the school sitting right before them, and to know that they were under a fire of criticism and misrepresentation, but they finally stood like rocks and made the decision, and the morning session was calm and unanimous. Mr. Saibara is a host. He is determined that the school shall be solidly Christian and he gives confidence to the rest."

Dr. Davis' admiration for the group of men who without experience, without assurance of financial backing and with the certainty of the withdrawal of every government privilege, had put the school back upon a Christian basis, was very great. He knew many of the criticisms that were being launched at these men and how they were being watched for a single false step or sign of weakness. He knew, too, that it had been against the personal preference and advantage of many of them to serve upon the new Board. He regarded them all as heroes, and felt that the least that the mission and the American Board could do was to strongly support them at the beginning of their hard task of reconstruction.

The enrollment of the Doshisha had dropped to one-fourth of its former members, while its spirit had equally declined. Only a dozen earnest Christian students remained and several of the strongest professors, dissatisfied with the new trustees, had resigned their positions. It was, however, decided to open the Theological Department again in cooperation with the mission and to continue the Middle School through the year without change, hoping, in the interval, for a reversal of policy

in the Educational Department toward the Christian schools.

The Board was hardly elected before Dr. Davis was devising ways and means of helping the Doshisha through the succeeding critical years. The importance of keeping up a full teaching force and a complete equipment in spite of a small enrollment could not be over-estimated if the Doshisha was to live. His letters of this period are full of appeals to Boston and to American friends for help. "I wish there were among the many friends of the Doshisha, in America, some who would make a special gift of, say, $1,500 a year, for two or three years, to aid the school through this crisis. If it can be helped for a few years, I believe it will be restored to its former Christian spirit, and that its numbers will increase so that with what endowment it has it will stand upon its own feet."

With the reopening of the Theological Department came the old question of Dr. Davis' relation to the chair of Theology. Years before he had suggested to Secretary Clark the finding of a young man of exceptional ability and specialized training to take his place in the Theological Department.

His doubts as to his own acceptability for this work had been gradually crystallizing. He was no longer a young man. He was one of the oldest in the mission. In the meantime younger men, trained in the newer schools of theological thought, had come to the field with ideas which were more in accord with the thinking of the Japanese church. He applied the old test of his boyhood years, "How can I make my life count the most for God and for men?" There was no faltering. To square true to this base-line of action he must resign the work into which he had put the study and devotion of twenty-five years. It was not that he had lost faith in the Theology which he believed and taught; he was never more convinced that it

contained the power of God unto men for salvation. It was rather that he believed that the young men of the church whom the Doshisha was training for the ministry were not satisfied with the system of truth which he represented. He could not be a stumbling block in the progress of the church or of the school; if there must be sacrifice, let it be the man and not the community. It was characteristic of him that he did not wait for these facts to be pointed out to him. He had long since sensed them and decided upon action when time for action should come. If the surgeon's knife must be used, he preferred to apply it with his own hands.

On the 11th of April he wrote to Dr. Barton: — "You will have heard of the action of our Board of Trustees in regard to the reopening of the Doshisha Theological Department from next September. I think Mr. Albrecht is, perhaps, the only man in our mission who would give complete satisfaction to the Japanese friends in the position of dean of that department. As a German, he is able to give the students the most advanced continental theories. How much help that is to them I do not know, but it satisfies them as I cannot. My views have become so broadened and I have realized so much of the length and breadth and height and depth of these great truths, especially, of the person and work of Christ, that I am unable to accept any of the narrow, so-called new views of them that are common in Japan now. If my conscience would allow me to teach what is popular and keep silent on the rest, I might continue. Besides, I have the reputation of being narrow and behind the times. Hence, at my earnest request, I have been relieved, and shall give myself largely, while the Master has work for me here, to evangelistic work. There is plenty of work to do. I have refused more than I have accepted since last Fall. Next Saturday I am to go across the Lake to Bodaiji, where they will have com-

munion and an old woman of nearly ninety will be baptized. Next Sabbath, I am to preach in the Doshisha in the morning and in the weavers' district in the evening." Then without a word of pessimism for the Doshisha or the general situation, he continued, " The outlook is very cheering here. I wish we might receive the needed reinforcements. The coming of Pastors Harada and Miyagawa to give addresses is a great encouragement."

Chapter XVIII

FIELDS WHITE TO THE HARVEST

ALTHOUGH Dr. Davis' name has been more closely identified with the Doshisha than with any other missionary activity, Christian education never limited the scope of his endeavors, nor did he consider it the ultimate goal or the paramount achievement of Christian mission in Japan. From first to last his heart was fixed upon the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the empire through a society composed of individuals whose hearts had been changed by the power of Christ. His motives while teacher were evangelistic; his theology was evangelistic. He did not treat it primarily as a science, but as a means to evangelize men. If for fifteen years he devoted himself to the firm establishment of the Doshisha schools, he never forgot that this was but a means to an end. Yet it was his constant aim that the Doshisha should be saved from the narrower sphere of training Christian workers, alone, to a Christian school of liberal culture.

He believed that educational work without evangelism was not fulfilling its highest purpose, and that evangelism, without a sound educational foundation, lacked depth and stability. The degree to which these two branches of the Congregational work have sustained each other; the intimate way in which the life blood of the school has permeated the Kumi-ai body throughout Japan, while the latter has applied the laboratory of faith and practice for the Doshisha, is a striking instance upon foreign soil of the power of Congregationalism to achieve large results through an intimate connection between college and church. A

determining factor in the choice of Kyoto as a site for the school had been its central location, surrounded by the most populous provinces of Japan; its strategic position in relation to evangelistic work.

Leading the way, himself, he encouraged the young men of the Theological Department of the Doshisha to work in the surrounding districts. Point after point was opened in this way to be manned by students, who worked on alternate Sabbaths and spent their summer vacations in this country evangelism. For a period of years there were over fifty towns and villages in the provinces near Kyoto which were occupied by Doshisha students during the summer. These summer and week-end preaching places enabled the Christian students to have a taste of the joy of the work for which many were preparing, it kept them warm in faith, and was a means of supporting a considerable number of men who could not have otherwise remained in school. The net results of this work were large, and church after church was organized later with these same young men as pastors.

For many years it was Dr. Davis' privilege to have the oversight of much of this outside evangelism. He was accustomed to take the week-end for touring and, after five days of teaching, Friday afternoon or Saturday morning would find him starting for some point in a neighboring province to give encouragement to a struggling church or a group of half-organized churches. For a period of five years, from 1888 to 1893, he had the oversight of the evangelistic work of the whole Kyoto district. To the correspondence and conferences with the evangelists and the constant calls for personal cooperation at numerous points in this large field, he would gladly have given his entire time. It came to form the background of his mind to which he retired for relief and comfort from some of the distressing problems confronting him in the school. Here, in these waiting har-

vest fields of the country districts, was an open door of opportunity, which no man could shut, where he was always welcome, and where the power of the truths that he taught was vindicated by glorious results.

A glimpse into his diary, in the autumn of 1893, shows Dr. Davis in the midst of this two-fold work: "Sat. Sept. 30th, went to Yawata and Sabbath morning walked on to Osumi, five miles, and held a communion service, with a sermon in the morning and preaching in the evening. Back Monday morning and into the school. Tuesday, the Gordons arrived from America, and had supper at our house. Friday evening a memorial service for Mr. Foulk. Sat. went to Mikumo, preached in the evening, and went on five miles to Minakuchi to get a quiet hotel and slept till seven next morning. Eight hours of meetings that day, including two sermons and a communion service. Men and women were drinking and carousing in adjoining rooms, so I slept but little. Back Monday morning and met my classes in the afternoon with eighteen hours of teaching that week. Two long faculty meetings this week and a conference in Osaka."

A letter to his children describes one of these week-end journeys: — "Nov. 18th, 1897. Dear children: — I had an interesting trip to Tamba. I left here at eight o'clock Saturday morning, and had dinner in Kamioka and went on to Shuchi, arriving at four. Sunday, the dedication of the church took place. It is only 18 by 35 ft. and very plain, but I think the Christians, who out of their poverty have built it, were as happy as any people ever were in the world. They had arranged beautiful bouquets of flowers and the service lasted nearly two hours. The church, with its furniture, cost one hundred and thirty dollars, and as they had only raised ninety, there was a deficit of forty dollars, which we raised during the service. In the afternoon, I preached a sermon on the Holy Spirit,

which was followed by a communion service and thirteen persons were baptized. Nearly one hundred members out of a total membership of one hundred and four were present, some coming eighteen miles from opposite directions. An old paralytic woman was brought in and lay on the floor all through the service. Afterward I walked up to the one-hundred-foot waterfall, which is now embowered in a mass of maple-leaved glory. In the evening, we had a mass meeting, with Messrs. Hori, Murakami and myself preaching. The house was packed, inside and out, with no standing room left. After the meeting many of the Christians came to the hotel and talked until nearly midnight. Mr. Mayeda, the Kyoto-Fu Assemblyman for Tamba, came home late Saturday night to be present at the dedication and started back to Kyoto at five o'clock Monday morning. He acted as usher all day. Yesterday, I started before daybreak and reached home in time for my afternoon Bible class in the Girls' School."

There were very real hardships connected with the work, and, however much he might make light of them, they were facts to be reckoned with. The lack of sufficient sleep is a serious tax upon the strength of the touring missionary in Japan. Conditions in the hotels could scarcely be more poorly adapted for restful or unbroken sleep: paper partitions, through which the slightest noise penetrates; adjoining guests, often entertained by carousing friends; barking dogs; the probability of noisy neighbors across the street and the certainty of early departures from your hotel at an hour when you are beginning to congratulate yourself that the noises of the night have worn themselves out. Add to these, such small matters as hard beds on the floor, quilts that have been used by generations of travellers, and voracious fleas that consider the foreigner an interesting change of diet, and one may understand some of the ordinary conditions of interior travel in Japan.

In the remote country inns, before the days of the Osaka ninety-sen alarm-clock, landlords depended upon the crowing of the roosters for telling the night hours. Fowls whose crowing habits had been carefully noted were housed upon the smoky rafters of the great, common apartment in which all slept, and by their crowing the hour of departure of early guests was regulated. It was not uncommon for the traveller to ask to be allowed to sleep under "the three o'clock bird," or "the four o'clock bird," as the case might be, to insure against oversleeping. In a town near Kyoto, where Dr. Davis occasionally visited, a vociferous chanticleer of irregular habits serenaded him so frequently at night, in the hotel where he was compelled to stay, that he finally tried the plan of paying the landlord to carry his bird to the opposite side of the village, where it was kept in solitary confinement whenever he came to town.

Of hard beds, insufficient food, cold, long jinricksha rides across mountain ranges in the dead of winter, Dr. Davis never complained, but with his nervous temperament and mental activity the steady shortage of sleep was a constant drain upon his strength. He fought for his sleep as for very life and would not infrequently walk or ride on to the next village to chance finding a quiet hotel. "Last night, a group of people drank and sang in the adjoining room until after one o'clock, while next door in a government office, some one was dictating records in a loud voice until nearly the same hour, and at half-past four, the opening of the hotel shutters proclaimed that the night was over.

"We started early in jinrickshas, and reached Kamioka, where boats start, about noon. The water was so low in the river that progress was slow, and I did not reach Arashiyama until two. . . . I then bought four fresh eggs, a cent's worth of sugar and two and a half cents' worth of boiled rice and made a rice pudding for dinner. I have

had some curious dishes this time. One popular dish is a sandwich made of boiled rice, with a raw trout cut open and laid on top, with head, fins and all on; it is pretty good if one is hungry. I bought a tin of beef and found it was put up with sugar and ginger. It was good, though. I slept an average of three hours and a half in twenty-four for a week, but came back feeling very well. . . . These little churches have the largest organs that I ever heard; they cover several acres. The rice fields are all about them, coming right up to the sides of two of the churches, and the *frogs* keep up a continual and almost deafening roar. In the mountains the other day, where no foreigner had ever been before, I asked an old farmer the way and talked with him a moment. He looked at me closely, and then said to another near by: — 'He looks like a foreigner; he has a beard, but he speaks like one of us.' It is precious to see the interest of those simple Christians in the work of spreading the Gospel and to see how the people come to listen."

There were also many demands for local evangelism in Kyoto. In addition to usually preaching night and morning in the churches and preaching places of the city, many of which he had had an active part in organizing, there were calls for work with special groups, such as companies of workmen in the neighboring carpenter's home, the mountain men at Yase and the factory hands in the weavers' district of the city.

Dr. Davis' appreciation of natural beauty was a factor in his touring which was a constant inspiration and a source of rest. His letters are full of descriptions of the mountain grandeur and the beauties of the autumnal and spring foliage. Of the journey from Kyoto to the west coast, he wrote: "It seemed as if we were travelling all day through fairy land; the steep mountain sides were aflame with Autumn glory; maples, sumacs, and a dozen other shades of

yellow and red, and blended with them all were as many shades of green; the pyramidal foliage of the cryptomeria, the rounder cones of the arbor-vitæ, the more irregular branches of the pines and many other half deciduous trees which do not shed their leaves till Spring. Huge mountain bouquets with lateral valleys on each side of the road, and cascades and water-falls framed in the glory of the foliage. During five days I travelled through such beauty and rejoiced as I thought: 'If earth is so beautiful, what must heaven be!'

"Sabbath, it poured all day, but this did not prevent thirty Christians from coming to the service, many of whom walked seven to twelve miles through the pouring rain over mountain roads. We met in a little room with space for thirty people to crowd in on the floor. The walls were of mud, the ceiling so low that I could just stand, but it seemed like the very gateway of heaven as Mr. Okabe preached the sermon and I baptized seven adults and one child and we observed the Lord's Supper together. That evening we had a good audience in a larger room. The next morning, after an early breakfast of salt fish and rice, we took the twenty-five mile ride over the mountains to Tsuruga Oka. It is a scattering village of fifty straw-thatched houses. I was the first foreigner who had ever been in the village and was given the best room in Mr. Uchimak's house and a bed of thick quilts on the mats, with two above for covering. It is a good deal like sleeping between two thick boards, but one gets used to it. I was given an extra allowance of eggs, too, and for two days lived high on eggs and rice. The next morning the old father and mother and a son and his wife were examined for baptism. We listened to the story of their conversion, then Mr. Okabe preached a sermon, I baptized them and we observed the Lord's Supper together. The whole family, except one son, are Christians now, and it

was touching to see their joy as they sat all together, receiving the sacred emblems of Christ's sufferings and death. In the afternoon, I spoke for an hour to the head man of the village, with minor officials, school teachers and students. In the evening, although it rained, a goodly company listened until half-past ten. The next morning the rain ceased, and I walked half of the thirty-six miles over the mountains to Kyoto. I was fourteen hours on the way, reaching home at nine o'clock, tired but happy.'

With the withdrawal of the American Board missionaries from the Doshisha in 1896, the way was open for much more extended tours. He eagerly accepted invitations for evangelistic work, which began to come to him from all parts of Japan. Each year now saw him taking from two to six extended tours to different parts of the empire. When it was known in the Kumi-ai body that Dr. Davis was no longer connected with the Doshisha, calls came from six of his old pupils to settle in their fields for exclusively evangelistic work. It seemed, however, too uncertain a juncture to make such a radical change. He believed that the pendulum of the school would swing back, and he wished to remain where he was to watch developments and, in the meantime, do all in his power to advance the general cause.

In rapid succession he visited widely separated sections of the country from northern Hokkaido to Kyushiu and Shikoku on the south. These trips far afield continued to impress him with the immensity of the task remaining for the Christian church and with the timeliness of a forward evangelistic movement. Of a tour in the North he wrote: — " Thirty-two days, mostly spent in Japanese inns, living on Japanese food, sleeping from three to five hours a night and speaking thirty-two times, but well, happy and not very tired. What are the impressions gained from the

tour? First, Japan is more ready for the Gospel than ever before. The official classes are more favorably disposed and the masses more ready to hear than at any time since Japan was opened. Second, the era of doubt and rationalistic discussion has passed its zenith. Many of the pastors and Christians realize their need of a positive faith and are hungering for spiritual food. Third, wherever earnest men are preaching a positive Gospel, churches are alive and souls are being gathered into the Kingdom. Fourth, the lack of workers. That great Aidzu valley, with its three hundred square miles of villages, has no missionary. Oh, how they did plead for a missionary! Echigo, over one hundred miles long and half as wide, has only two missionaries and ten Japanese workers. Its great plains and valleys impress me with the fact that, 'there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.' "

It was undoubtedly the close touch which Dr. Davis kept with the general evangelistic field and his familiarity with the disproportion of Christian workers between country and city that kept him from first to last an advocate of mission expansion. During the dark days of mission fortunes, when some were leaving Japan, others planning an early return and nearly all were advising against more reinforcements, he never ceased urging the American Board and the Congregational churches to sustain and strengthen their work in Japan. He had had ample grounds for disillusionment since those early days in the eighties, when it seemed as if all Japan were to be swept into the Kingdom in a generation; he had received his share of opposition and criticism from the Japanese, but with prophetic vision he saw that these vicissitudes were temporary movements, incident to the re-birth of a nation. His intimate knowledge of the rank and file of the church led him to the conviction that it still welcomed the cooperation of the missionary and that it was merely a matter of time until the

missionary should be recognized as filling an indispensable place in Japan.

In the spring of 1909, the year before his death, Dr. Davis was consulted by a secretary of one of the mission boards as to the wisdom of gradually closing their work or largely reinforcing it. His convictions were stated so clearly and backed up so strikingly with illustrations in the history of his own mission and the Doshisha, that the argument for reinforcement seemed conclusive. He wrote of this interview: — "I almost tremble to express my opinion on some things, lest it be given more weight than it deserves. They seem to think that a man who has been in Japan nearly forty years ought to know everything, and be able to give sound advice on all points of mission policy. I cannot fill that bill, but have to do the best I can." In this connection it is of interest to note that within three years this Board had doubled its staff of missionaries in Japan and had planned a comprehensive scheme of expansion of its entire work.

One of the busiest tours of the earlier period was in April, 1892, in the district west of Kyoto. "I left Kyoto Friday noon, and had travelled thirty miles by night. The next morning, starting at half-past five, I travelled sixty miles by jinricksha over the fine road that winds through the mountains and in and out along the sea-shore near Miyadzu. That evening we had a prayer-meeting. The next day, the Sabbath, I preached in the morning, five persons were baptized and the Lord's Supper was celebrated. One of those baptized was the eighth member to receive baptism of the family of the woman who was baptized a year ago, the keeper of a house of prostitution, who set free all the girls whom she had bought and who has lived a most happy life since. Dr. Gordon baptized twenty-five and Dr. Albrecht fifteen here, a year ago, so that there are now forty-five members. We had an evening service, with

two sermons, and Monday evening the great theatre was packed with six hundred people, while three of us spoke.

"Tuesday morning the pastor of the Miyazu church and I, started by rowboat along the coast and tramped up the mountain to Mineyama, fifteen miles, where we had a preaching service that evening. Next day we went on to Amino, five miles south, the home of the old lady who was converted while on the way to the Ise shrines and has given largely of her fortune to help build three churches. One of these was dedicated in her home town the evening we arrived. The rain poured, but the new church was packed, and a great crowd stood in the street, holding umbrellas over their heads, until eleven o'clock. After that we had a love feast of rice salad, raw fish and bean turn-overs and tea, until after midnight. The next morning two were baptized, one woman in the face of such great family opposition that many in the audience were moved to tears. In the evening another preaching service until eleven.

"The next morning I started at five, rode twenty miles over mountain ranges in a fierce storm to find that the bridge across the Wachi river had just given way. 'Not a bridge or a ferry for thirty-five miles,' they said, 'and nothing to do, but to wait a few days till the river subsides so that a boat can cross.' I went down the river four miles to a remote ferry, but nothing would induce the men to cross. Five miles further down I found that the river shoaled out enough for poles to reach the bottom, and I finally induced some men to pole me over. I then had to walk over the mountains, twelve miles, to a jinricksha road, and reached Shuchi, thirty miles from home, at eight o'clock at night. I preached nine nights in succession, with three communion services, and all the talking between times, was up until midnight nearly every night, lived on Japanese food, with heavy travel crowded into a rainy spell in which I did not see the sun for over a week,

and then had the hard trip home, to find a pile of letters and accumulated work awaiting me. This has not left me very rested, but I wish some of those people who think that missionaries have too good a time, living in luxury, could have followed me around, eating, walking and sleeping as I did, nay, I rather wish that they had the love of Christ in their hearts, which makes this work easy and full of joy."

Eighteen hundred and ninety-seven marked the high tide of his touring activity. In this year he made seven extended trips, averaging nearly a month in length and aggregating almost ten thousand miles. February and March were spent in the southern island of Kyushiu and Shikoku, where in thirty-two days he spoke fifty-two times. Of Kyushiu he notes: — "It is a most hopeful field and needs workers who will go with a strong purpose to hold on and out." The opportunity and needs of the work in Shikoku so impressed him that, before leaving, he promised to return in a month for further work. On his return from the South, however, a two weeks' attack of rheumatism and sciatica reminded him of what he was seldom allowed to forget from now on, that he was growing old and could not endure hardships without paying the price. The second Shikoku tour lasted another month, and proved one of the most fruitful that he had ever attempted.

Not all of his tours were conducted under such pleasant conditions as these to southern Japan. In November, 1902, he had started upon a week's trip into the interior, when a tooth began to trouble him. "I could not sleep that night and went to a dentist, who tried to kill the nerve, but only made it worse. I went on to Arayube and spoke that night, but Sunday morning determined to have the unruly tooth removed, as I could eat nothing and it pained continuously. After drinking some milk and preaching at ten, I went to the doctor. He wrenched and twisted

for a time, but his forceps slipped and knocked out two of my remaining front teeth. Both jaws were so bruised that I could take no solid food for five days. I talked to some soldiers that afternoon in the barracks for an hour, and preached in the evening, and feared I should have to go home, but being no worse the next morning and having come so far, and with speaking announcements out in three other places, I decided to continue the trip." Under these conditions he had spoken seven consecutive nights, in as many towns, widely separated by mountain ranges, with day meetings interspersed, yet he could reach home saying that he was not especially tired, and take up the accumulated work of committee meetings, teaching, conferences, and writing, without even the respite of a half day.

Dr. Davis was privileged to witness in increasingly fruitful evangelistic work until past three-score years and ten. His last tours were, from the standpoint of rich results, among the most blessed of his life. The travelling was accomplished each year with increasing difficulty, with colds and bronchitis and, finally, arterial trouble, but while the physical force was perceptibly waning, the inner fires glowed with undiminished intensity. At an age when it is natural to enjoy the comforts of home and of a quiet life, his soul burned with an increasing passion to glean men for his Master from the wide harvest field.

His last evangelistic tour was taken in the winter of 1910, at the request of the Kyoto District Conference. In company with Pastor Makino, he spent eight days in the region of Maizuru, on the west coast, speaking fourteen times to bands of Christians and enquirers. He says: "I went under Mr. Makino's wing, and I believe this marks a beginning of such cooperation, with our Japanese brethren as the leaders, which will be more fruitful in blessed results than any work we have hitherto done." These words of the veteran evangelist, spoken so shortly before his death,

are prophetic of the new era of cooperative evangelism which has characterized the work of the Kumi-ai churches and the Congregational missionaries.

Only once during the thirty-nine years of Dr. Davis' life in Japan was a serious attempt made to disturb a meeting or interfere with his speaking. The theatre where he and his associates were advertised to speak in the old castle town of Kikone, upon the shores of Lake Biwa, was nearly filled by a company of Buddhist priests and their followers, who evidently intended to break up the meeting. "It was only by the hardest effort that Messrs. Ebina and Kanoko finished their addresses. When I went onto the platform they shouted 'Ketojin' (a hairy foreigner). I made a polite bow and told them that I always liked to talk to young men and that I hoped I could help them, that all young men wanted to succeed in life and that I would tell them some of the elements of success. First, a great aim, in harmony with heaven, with conscience and with men; second, a great Master, one who has power to save, to make us better men and to give us self-control and to be an example for our faith and conduct. Now, every faithful disciple strives to imitate the spirit and conduct of his master; thus we may compare masters by comparing the conduct and spirit of the disciples. I come to you, tonight, in the spirit and following the example of Christ, who endeavoured to save all men through his holy, kind and noble life; I take it that you followers of Buddha also come in the spirit of your master, but if so, you are representing a very unworthy master by the conduct you have maintained in this meeting." Before the speaker had progressed far in this pointed argument, heads began to hang in shame, and, as he continued, one after another of the disturbers silently rose and left the hall, until scarcely one remained. Later several of these same men became earnest Christians.

Chapter XIX

PERSONAL EVANGELISM

THOUGH for more than thirty years Dr. Davis was a familiar figure in the Doshisha class room it is the influence of the man and not the teacher that remains among his students. His interest in his pupils was too genuine to be satisfied with a formal relationship. For many years he was accustomed to pray, daily, for every member of his classes and knew each man by name. Their life stories were familiar to him; their struggles for an education, their sorrows, their temptations, their doubts and their victories were a part of his life. He seemed to keep the right perspective, never forgetting that he was in Japan to bring spiritual and moral power to individuals as well as to the community. There was something in the foreign teacher that invited the confidence of the students. One of the Kumamoto Band, Rev. D. Ebina of Tokyo, has said: "It was Dr. Davis to whom the students of the early Doshisha looked up. It was he that attracted and led the promising youths of those days. The vestige of a brave soldier still lingered about his brow, — a manly man, of firm mind, still young, under forty."

His home for thirty-five years was open to the students. They came to him as naturally as to a Japanese; they came as sons to a father, as boys to an elder brother, sure of sound advice, of sympathy and of spiritual uplift. Those in whom he was specially interested he would occasionally invite to supper for special consultation in his study. Not only did the students of the pioneer school frequent the home of the vigorous young missionary, but, thirty years later, the boys of the modern Doshisha and government

schools were still drawn to the veteran teacher. Indeed this personal work increased with the years, as his teaching schedule decreased.

His letters to his family constantly describe individuals whom he was helping in various ways. "Last evening we had two students to supper. Today, a young man of the third year class came to say 'Goodbye.' He lives in Yamada, the bigotted Shinto town where the great central shrine is located. He has become a Christian here, but his family are all unbelievers. His health has failed and he goes home to rest. He is one of a little company of classmates who have come to me several times for spiritual help. He said that he had only been an intellectual Christian before, but that I had helped him to lay hold on a personal Saviour and he wanted to thank me and to get some more advice before he should go to his home. This is one of the experiences which makes life not only worth living, but rich. It is a rare pleasure to assist a man toward the light and to see the soul light up right under your eyes."

A Kyushiu judge, led by the letters of his son, a student in America, to decide for Christ, travelled five hundred miles to be baptized by Dr. Davis on Mt. Hiei. During a vacation in 1900, thirty-six different individuals, students, pastors and teachers, climbed the mountain to his camp for spiritual or practical advice. Escaping to a temple retreat on Lake Hakone, three hundred miles northeast, in an effort to rest, still groups of students and others found him and laid their burdens upon his heart. In despair of finding a secluded place to rest, he remarked: — "I suppose, if I should spend the summer on the summit of Mt. Fuji they would follow up there."

From 1906 on, groups of government school students were in the habit of coming to Dr. Davis' home for regular meetings of consecration and prayer, and toward the close of his life he was sought more and more for this intimate,

inspirational contact. February 4th, 1906: — "The students from the University and Higher Middle School came in for a consecration meeting at two o'clock and asked me to speak to them of the way to receive the Holy Spirit, and then of the meaning of the church and the reasons of its necessity for Christians. . . . This morning I speak at the communion service in the Rakyo church, and this afternoon the students from the University are coming again. They are coming once a month, and as this is my night at home for Doshisha students they will come Monday evening instead, this week. The Theological students come Friday evening after prayer-meeting to ask questions. I declined a pressing invitation to speak at an alumni meeting at Osaka last evening, much as I wanted to go, feeling that I had too important work on hand today to allow it."

The next year, he was asked to take charge of a new center of student work which the Doshisha opened in the university district, east of the river. Of a Sabbath, he wrote: "I preached today at the Doshisha, in the morning, and at the 'Airinsha' in the evening. Four sets of Normal School students came in during the afternoon to inquire about Christianity. I noted some of their questions: What is the chief end of man? What is the true basis of morals? What becomes of those who die impenitent? How are we to escape from our daily sins? Can any be saved who know not Christ? Tell me all about Christianity; I have heard almost nothing about it. Such questionnaires keep one fairly busy."

Dr. Davis' knowledge of the Doshisha and its students was intimate; for a generation his finger was on the pulse of the school, quick to detect the slightest variation in its spiritual, physical or social health, and if his letters and conversation regarding the Doshisha were often filled with anxieties and prophecies of disaster, it was because he loved

it with the love of a parent and could not endure the entrance of tendencies which might retard its greatest good. That every individual student should have Jesus Christ enthroned in his heart as Saviour and Lord seemed to him none too lofty an ambition for the Doshisha, and it was this that he constantly held up before his classes and associates. How nearly the school of the first years came to fulfilling this high ideal, the records of those years witness. In 1889, "We have at the end of the school year about eight hundred and eighty students in our schools; five hundred and twelve are Christians and one hundred and sixty-five were baptized during the year. There are three among the twenty-five graduates who are not Christians. In the thirteen years since the school began we have graduated only four or five other men who were not Christians."

It was to be expected that Dr. Davis would warmly welcome efforts of visiting evangelists in the Doshisha. During Mr. Wishard's visit in February, 1889, he wrote, "This has been a very busy and precious day. The work of Mr. Wishard and Mr. Swift has been greatly blessed. The whole school is aroused. There has been no excitement, but nearly all the Christians in the school are stirred to do personal work. February 7th: The work still goes on; meetings in the early evening each day and our house open every afternoon, from one till five, for inquirers who wish to come and meet Messrs. Wishard and Swift. Forty-two were packed into our sitting-room yesterday, and we had every room downstairs but the kitchen full of students, and Fannie received her callers in the kitchen. It really seems like old times to have a home used again in this way. We are working and praying that the three hundred and sixty non-Christian students will be led to Christ. We are planning to start the Young Men's Christian Association with the Doshisha as a center, making of these organizations Gideon's Bands, whose members

pledge themselves to take as their life aim, leading souls to Christ. We want Christians who will each mean a thousand souls. Unless Christians, generally, awaken and work, they will not keep pace with the increasing population of the whole globe."

Dr. Davis considered that John R. Mott had been raised of God to meet a special crisis in the Japanese Christian movement. Ever since the meeting of the National Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, in 1896, in which he had seen Mr. Mott fight for a long day for the evangelical basis of the Union, his admiration for the man was profound. Of his meetings in the Doshisha, he wrote, in October, 1901: "It was an inspiration to see and hear Mr. Mott and to witness these large results in our school. He preaches the old Gospel, which is, and always has been, the power of God unto salvation,—sin, repentance, faith in a divine Christ and His atonement, and acceptance of the living Christ through the Holy Spirit. He speaks in clear-cut, short sentences, each like a hot shot, and his translator put these sentences into Japanese in the same way, so that the result was very effective. All the Christian workers in the city are organized to look after these enquirers and lead them into the Christian life. I realize that there can be no more important work than this."

His personal ministries were not confined to the student class of his city. He kept up, for various periods, Bible and English classes for policemen, city officials and other groups of citizens, in which he was assisted by his wife, and by these means their circle of friends was constantly enlarging. Of one of these groups he wrote:—"I have promised to meet some of the officials of the city one evening in the week to teach them English. Their object is to get English; mine is to make friends of them and try to interest them in Christ."

Those who came to him for help represented nearly every profession. "Yesterday, I had no preaching in public, but a judge came in the afternoon to talk about Christianity.... He says that his duties show him how very weak and sick at heart man is, and that he needs super-human help, but that he is troubled about the miracles of Christ. I talked with him an hour and a half and I never found a man who seemed more ready to drink in the truth. I gave him some books and he promised to come again. . . . A physician in the city who has practised medicine fifteen years came in the other evening, saying that he was so troubled about his sins that he could not rest. His confessions were a revelation of the immorality of such men. He has come three times and we have talked and prayed together. It is good that we have a divine Redeemer to whom we may lead such sinful men."

Particularly in the early days, before the country had been geared up to the rapidly moving machinery of western life, it required a fund of patience and grace to deal with the deliberate individuals who came to the missionary, professing to be enquirers after truth, but obviously seeking to satisfy their curiosity. One eccentric and cold-blooded scholar of Chinese, famous among the missionary children for wearing thirteen suits of clothes at the same time, one winter made frequent visits upon the Davis household, usually timing his call to coincide with the family supper hour. One evening he was invited to stay to supper. Not fancying the porridge and milk and being compelled by Japanese etiquette to leave nothing upon his plate, he solved the dilemma by slipping the contents of his porridge bowl into a capacious sleeve, where it remained until his departure an hour later. In this case, patience was rewarded by the man's ultimate conversion.

Another man, an ex-Shinto priest, who through a lengthy correspondence professed to be an earnest seeker, finally

made a call upon Dr. Davis with the request that he explain for him the theory of total abstinence. After he had talked with the man for some time upon the value of temperance, his guest thanked him, took off his outer garment, and to Dr. Davis' astonishment requested him to write a statement of his temperance principles upon the inner lining. The inside of the robe was covered with inscriptions in several languages, representing the philosophy and teaching of various sages, which the owner hoped to absorb by wearing upon his back.

It was to be expected that demands upon his sympathy and financial resources would be large, but to what extent he responded not even his intimate friends knew. Among his files are letters from individuals of every description, seeking help, and thanking him for aid. Indigent evangelists, with large families to support, sick students, ex-students out of work, pastors unable to live upon the irregular support of their churches, and stranded American sailors and "beach combers," are among those whom he helped. But for every such recorded act, there must have been many of which no one ever knew. This ability to respond was a wonder to his friends. The secret is found in the self-denials of his thirty-nine years in Japan.

A neighbor says of him: — "His readiness to give was often abused and I imagine that the money he lent to needy students, which was never returned, must have amounted to a large sum. It was hard for him to refuse help, but he did so in one case. A man came, one day, asking for money to help him back to Nagoya, where he knew a missionary for whom he had once worked. In proof of the statement, he produced a letter in the Japanese grass character which Dr. Davis could not read. He was about to help him, when his teacher came in and was asked to read the letter. He did so and asked the man if his name was ——— 'Yes,' was the reply. 'Well,' said the

teacher, 'This letter says that ——— has just died and asks for a contribution for the funeral expenses.' The man, unabashed, explained that his friends had previously tried to raise funds for him in that way, and, by mistake, he had shown the wrong paper. I can almost hear Dr. Davis' hearty laugh as he told the story and added, 'That is the first time I ever had a corpse ask me to help bury it, but I drew the line there and refused to give money to a dead man.'"

It was as natural for him to witness to his divine Lord wherever the vicissitudes of the work led him, as when men came to his study for special help. Sometimes it was the jinricksha runner, who toiled with him over steep mountain passes; again, the woodcutter carrying his blanket and charcoal on some winter excursion. The fellow passenger on boat or train, or the farmer overtaken on the highway, often heard from the kindly foreigner the story of a new hope and a new power in Christ. In the darkest moments of reaction, when it seemed to him as if many were losing their grip upon the divine Christ, he would turn to work for such simple-hearted souls, with a prayer of thanksgiving on his heart that Christ's power to save was constant and could reach men of every social and intellectual stratum. It proved his favorite theory that the common man in Japan could be reached by the Gospel.

One result of his country evangelism was that farmers from the deep interior, when in Kyoto, called to thank him or to ask for further advice and help. In April, 1887, he wrote: — "I had a call from five or six men and women the other day, from north of Tamba, about fifty miles away. One of them is a mother, who was led to examine Christianity through the conversion of her son, who had been a very wicked prodigal. She saw such a great change in him after his conversion that she felt there must be a power in Christianity of which she was ignorant. Another

of the company, about fifty years old, had started on the pilgrim circuit of the Island of Shikoku, visiting all the shrines, when she heard of Christianity and decided to seek Christ instead."

The same letter told of the baptism of the former Daimio of Sanda and his entrance into the Kobe Church. It was especially appropriate that Dr. Davis, who had first introduced this man to Christianity, should assist in receiving him into the Church. This ex-lord had been a seeker for fourteen years, being preceded in his acceptance of Christ by a brother and other members of his family.

"November 30th, 1890, Dear Children: — A student who has been here four years and who, from ill health, is now compelled to leave school, probably never to come back, came to bid me, 'Goodbye.' He first asked if I had an extra English Bible that he could have; an old one would do. I told him we had only those we were using, but I gave him a copy of Smith's Bible Dictionary. He was very grateful, and told me why he wanted one of my books. He said that months ago, he had a very vivid dream. He was walking in the city and saw a man standing on a large stone, with a Bible in one hand and pointing with the other to heaven. He drew nearer and the man was myself and then as he looked, the man was Christ. He said, 'Every time I think of you, I think of Christ, and I want some book you have used, so that each time I see the book I shall think of you and of Christ.' This has made me feel very humble, because I come so far short of being such a pattern, and yet men must look at us all as patterns of Him, more or less. If we could only live so that all who see us would look from us up to Christ, how blessed it would be."

Chapter XX

THE ALL-AROUND MISSIONARY

TO one who believes in divine influence in the lives of men, there is evidence of an economy of creation and an interplay of forces in the history of individuals as well as of nations. The saying, "It takes God a thousand years to make a man," becomes, upon analysis, one of the most undeniable of truths. It was no accident that Dr. Davis came from a mixture of pioneer and military stock; that the bark of his boyhood fortunes was tossed on difficult seas; that he made an early consecration of his life to God; that he took an active part in the great American Conflict and that he went as a missionary to the Far East. If the Kingdom of God was to be planted in modern Japan in competition with the adverse influences of Western civilization, men of this ancestry and calibre were needed.

The early missionaries represented more than the societies that sent them and more than the churches and colleges that had nurtured them, as they landed upon the shores of Japan fifty years ago. These first missionaries were ambassadors of the best traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race; products of that sturdy spirit of Puritanism that willingly sacrificed all for conscience's sake and had opened a continent to Christian civilization and Anglo-Saxon culture.

After two hundred and fifty years of pioneering in North America, this fund of energy and experience was not to be lost, but was to be applied in new fields; the gift of the youthful West to the ancient, expectant East. Dr. Davis and his forefathers had, as pioneers, helped to open four

states to the Union; he was now to pioneer in an imperial nation. He and his ancestors had taken part in four wars for his country; he was now to take part in a yet greater war for a nation of which his fathers knew nothing, but whose achievements were to stir the world and whose future influence in history no man can foretell.

Dr. Davis was endowed with a fund of resourcefulness, which went far toward making him an all-around missionary. He was seldom caught in a situation to which he could not adapt himself or turn to his advantage or to that of the work. This trait was especially shown in the early years, and was a source of surprise to the Japanese and of appreciation to his colleagues. He came to Japan equipped with the tools for constructing his house and for making his own furniture and implements. His actual experience in these things was of great value in building his own houses in Kyoto and in supervising the construction of many of the Doshisha buildings and mission houses in his station.

He had an aptitude for building and for getting satisfactory results out of the Japanese workmen. He took off his coat and got down into the trenches with the masons, showed them how to make mortar, superintended the drying of the timber, climbed over the building from cellar to cornice, watching, correcting, detecting errors and short measure, devising the solution of engineering difficulties and teaching labor-saving devices of American construction. More than one of the best builders in the Kyoto district have attributed their start in foreign construction to Dr. Davis. In the early years the negotiation for land and buildings required an inordinate amount of time, patience and perseverance. As he described it, "In securing land for buildings we can do nothing directly, but have to work through the Japanese, which is much like working on the short end of a compound system of levers."

The oriental propensity for not keeping to time greatly tried his punctual nature and was one of the elements of life in Japan which wore on him unduly. Eventually, he devised a plan for holding contractors to their agreements, which is in general use today. A reasonable time limit was fixed upon, and for every day by which this period was shortened the contractor received a bonus of ten yen, while for each day by which the work dragged beyond the time limit, the contractor had to pay a similar sum as a fine to the supervising missionary. The first contractor who entered into this agreement, not fully realizing that he would be rigidly held to the conditions, was badly caught. He bided his time, however, and receiving the contract for a second building, pushed the work so rapidly that Dr. Davis was forced to pay him a bonus of yen 120. Dr. Davis was delighted at this outcome, which he said "is worth the amount of the bonus many times over, for that is one thing I am here for."

He was often called in for consultation about the Doshisha buildings and grounds. In the spring of 1887, the coolies who were employed to stretch the band wire upon the new campus fence failed to put the required energy into the work. They were dismissed and Dr. Davis undertook the job. "I stretched every strand of wire for the fifteen hundred feet of fence, myself. I was pretty busy before this and it took all my spare time, but a few days settled it." When the kerosene lamps in one of the buildings got out of order, he took them down and worked over them until they were almost as good as new, and when the chimney in the Theological hall refused to draw, he worked with the men until the defects were remedied.

In the middle of his summer rest, in 1887, he went down from the mountain camp to oversee the erection of the American clock that had arrived for the Recitation hall tower. "It is a large one with a three hundred pound

striking weight. With two of the best clock men in the city, I unpacked it. It was all in pieces and no directions with it. We worked until sundown to get the running gear together, and I have been at work ever since putting it up. We have to get the one hundred foot fall for the striking weight by a series of compound pulleys. I put these pulleys in the top of the tower, fifty feet from the ground, put the clock works in the second storey, the bell in the third storey, and the hands and face in the fourth storey, and have to plan for all these connection rods for which the clock was not originally built. Whether it will run after being put up by a novice without directions remains to be seen. I protested to the station against undertaking it, but they would not let me off. Wednesday, September 4th. Another full day of thirteen hours at the clock. It is all ready except putting on the hands and weights and connecting the striking lever with the bell. September 18th. The clock is working all right. I can hear it strike very plainly over here in my study."

Twenty years later, when an old man, he wrote of the same clock: "The last days have been busy with the oversight of getting the new bell placed in the clock tower. . . . Raising the heavy bell up to the third storey of the tower and hanging it was no small job with our appliances. The arrangements for the tolling lever were easy, but the adjustment of the clock strike was very complicated. The new bell is too large to use with the old hammer, so I had to make a new one with a bent bar, working on a pivot so that it would clear the bell. Three days of hard work got the whole thing into running order."

Dr. Davis believed in the gospel of hard work. Here his lifelong example made a vivid impression upon the Japanese. In the early days of the mission, some of his colleagues protested against his appearing upon the streets in his shirt-sleeves, wheeling a barrow, or carrying tools in

his arms to the blacksmith's shop. They believed that such democratic conduct would give a wrong impression to the Japanese of the social status and culture of the American missionary. He compromised by putting on his coat in public, but never gave in upon the principle of the value of the example of labor.

He was public spirited and willing to do his full share for advancing community interests. As the founder of the summer camp upon Mt. Hiei, he maintained a feeling of solicitude for all who used that retreat. It was his custom each spring after the frost was out of the ground, to climb the mountain with a carpenter and place the waterworks of the camp in repair. Rotted bamboo pipes were renewed, joints made secure and the reservoir cleaned out. Changes or extensions in camp sites, too, were negotiated by him. When the Christian cemetery needed attention, Dr. Davis usually knew it and saw that fences and gates were repaired and the graves properly cared for. Here, as with the Doshisha, he acted upon his favorite axiom: "When you want a thing done, do it yourself," and relates of repairing the cemetery wall, "It is a mud wall with a tile roof. The tiles had fallen off in places and the wall was being washed down. I drilled holes in one hundred and sixty tiles and wired them on, working with the drill for five hours. It is all fixed now, however, and ought to stand for twenty years."

In the summer of 1900, at Hakone Lake, he constructed a mill for making graham flour from the raw wheat. After describing how he had turned miller, he says: — "Then I bought some yellow Indian corn and pounded it, as the Indians do, between two stones, and made some 'Samf,' which is the nicest hominy I ever ate." His abilities as a cook were proverbial among his intimate friends and he was fond of occasionally getting into the camp kitchen and turning out "flap jacks," "sikus singles," and "rogues'

stews," whose mere mention used to make the children's mouths water in anticipation. Yet there never was a man who thought less of what he ate, or who was less fastidious than he. His long military training had inured him to frugal living and had made him an advocate of "the gospel of plain living and high thinking."

The summer tenting upon the mountain delighted the old soldier, who was an adept at camping out. To our childish imagination he could fasten a tent more securely than any one else. I well remember my boyish pride on finding, the morning after a great typhoon, that my father's tents were the only ones of the encampment that had not suffered serious damage, and my respect for his mechanical genius on seeing him construct a rude triangulating outfit by which he estimated the height of neighboring summits in the mountains.

His was a varied and multiple activity through the first twenty years of the Doshisha's life. In addition to his regular schedule of teaching and evangelistic work, he bore an increasing load of allied and divergent responsibilities. Committees relating to the school, to evangelistic work and church and mission development, found him a willing member. In 1900 we find this note: "I can sympathize with Lowell, who, when in London, wrote: — 'I am piecemealed here with so many things to do that I cannot get a moment to brood over anything as it must be brooded over if it is to have wings. It is as if a setting hen should have to mind the doorbell.'" The next year: — "I am on so many committees that some weeks I have a committee meeting every day."

The years that he was at the head of the Theological school, the consultation and correspondence with students fell to him, while during the long period when the Doshisha question was under discussion, the vital issues involved, which interested not only Doshisha students and graduates,

but the whole Kumi-ai body, as well as other missions and churches, brought a steady stream of inquiry to his door. In May, 1899, he wrote: — "I was to be at Hikone last Sabbath to preach, but my back was so lame that I decided to rest. The trouble is that I have not had enough exercise the last three months, and too much strain of consultation, sometimes as high as eight hours a day, upon this one, old, sore subject, the Doshisha."

In addition to his regular preaching, there were frequent calls for public addresses. Though some of his closest colleagues insisted to the contrary, he was not generally considered an eloquent speaker. Dr. D. L. Learned, in speaking of his use of Japanese, said: — "It was always a wonder to me that he could do so much in the language without a more perfect command of it, but he seemed to be a master of Japanese in the sense of making it do what he pleased. When he was prepared (too often he had to speak without time for preparation), or when he was deeply moved, he seemed to me one of the very strongest speakers in the mission." His Japanese vocabulary was comparatively limited, and would not have passed the modern tests of proficiency. However, he made a surprisingly effective use of the vocabulary at his command, and if measured by the results effected, he must be rated an efficient speaker. His style was marked by intense earnestness, simplicity and clarity of thought and a lighting up of the whole personality with an animation and fire which compelled attention and seldom failed to carry his audience.

He was much in demand for commencement addresses, for the dedication of churches, the ordination of pastors and for summer schools and conventions. One address for which he was famous among the Japanese and which he never tired of giving was his "War Talk," in which he related, in his vivid way, some of the most characteristic experiences of the Civil War. In many cases it was used

as the entering wedge for evangelistic appeal, when he would press home the claims of loyalty to duty and high ideals in the face of difficulties. The reason for these public demands upon him are apparent in the breadth of his interests, the depth of his sympathies, the strength of his friendships and the faithfulness and sincerity of his services.

One characteristic that gave Dr. Davis much pleasure was his ability to attract young men. His appeal to the imagination and heart of the young was not limited to the period when as an impetuous and "knightly leader," he charmed the Kumamoto Band; it remained to the very end of his life. Young men of various classes and nationalities came freely to his study for consultation and sympathy. Frequent demands from many parts of the country were made upon him for addresses to young people, until he was full threescore years and ten. He was essentially a man's man, direct, rugged, natural and absolutely fearless of everything but shame and dishonesty. He glowed with youthful enthusiasms and mighty convictions; he poured out the sympathy of his big heart to those who sought him; he was built upon a large pattern, with honor, generosity and genuineness deep graven upon his personality.

Upon his last return to Japan, in 1906, contrary to his expectations, he was more than ever in demand for work for young men. "More calls for work come than I dare accept," he wrote soon after his return; "I am asked to preach the Baccalaureate sermon for the graduation of all departments of the Doshisha and at the Communion service. I have had to decline to go to Tamba that same Sabbath. Mr. Osada has asked me to make the graduating address at the Osaka Girls' School, the same week. Tonight, Mr. Niwa asked me to preach in the Doshisha next Sabbath, but as I am to speak in the Airin Church that evening and have to meet the University and Higher Middle School students in the afternoon, I have declined

to do more. The trouble is that such work is sprung on one with little or no time for preparation. One is expected to have everything that is wanted 'right on tap.'"

Dr. Davis was for many years chairman of the Board of Directors of Kobe College, and from its beginning had furthered its growth in every possible way. In 1903, he referred to this school as the best piece of work that the mission had accomplished in its thirty-three years in Japan. He was one of the first, also, to advocate the opening of the Hospital and Training School for Nurses which was organized in connection with the Doshisha, and he served as a consulting member upon its board.

He believed that the Young Men's Christian Association had been called to render a unique service for the empire. For years he served on the committee of the National Y. M. C. A. Union, and he took the liveliest interest in the development of the association in mission and government schools and in its spread to the city work. He early saw the need of a city association building in Kyoto, as a common center for united Christian effort and as a direct means of reaching the city people. He suggested to Mr. Mott the sending of a foreign secretary to take charge of the Kyoto work, organized the petition from the pastors, missionaries and leading laymen in Kyoto for such a secretary, and, finally, upon his arrival welcomed him so warmly and gave so much time in planning for the new work that an unusual bond was established between the two men. From its organization until his death, he continued a director of the Kyoto City Association, and was never too busy to attend its meetings or to throw himself into its varied problems and activities.

Mr. Mott relied upon the judgment of Dr. Davis in the problems of the National work. At the historic Tokyo conference in 1897, in which the evangelical basis of the Japanese movement was seriously threatened, Dr. Davis was

present, and though he took no part in the discussion, prayed most earnestly through the long hours of discussion. His influence was pregnant with power that day to save the movement to evangelical Christianity. Many times he endured serious discomforts in order to attend meetings of the National Committee, not infrequently making the three hundred mile journey to the North primarily on that account. One member of the committee has said:—"I remember how one summer the meeting was held at Hayama, with the thermometer nearing 100°, muggy and sultry. We had poor Japanese food, fleas abounded, and the whole surroundings were depressing, especially to a foreigner, but Dr. Davis never uttered a complaint. His attitude at these committee meetings was strikingly reserved; he rarely spoke unless his opinion was asked, or unless some vital principle was at stake. He always demurred against taking a prominent part, believing that some younger or, as he thought, some abler man, should be called upon, but when he did speak it was with trumpet-toned conviction."

With much the same spirit that he showed toward the Young Men's Christian Association he welcomed the Salvation Army, and frequently expressed his confidence in the large work awaiting it in Japan. The officers of the Army, when working in Kyoto or passing through the city, were welcome guests in his home. Colonel Gumpei Yamamuro, of the Salvation Army, describes the part that Dr. Davis took in his decision for life-work: "When I left the Imabara Church as a helper, I decided to devote myself to the evangelization of the common people, and went to Kyoto and asked Dr. Davis' advice about entering the Salvation Army. He said: 'A man led by the Spirit of God can succeed in the Salvation Army or anywhere else; the place where one works is not so important as the spirit with which one works.' He greatly honored the Salvation

Army. Soon after I went to Tokyo and enlisted in the Army."

Through his friend and early colleague, Rev. O. H. Gulick, of Honolulu, he kept in close touch with the spiritual needs of the Japanese population in Hawaii, and for four years, from 1900 to 1903, he acted as consulting secretary for the Hawaiian Mission Board, finding Japanese pastors for its work and sending them to the field.

During the summer of 1887, the Spanish Government took possession of the Caroline Islands and arbitrarily arrested Rev. E. T. Doane, a missionary of the American Board, whose well established work on the Island of Ponape had excited the envy of the Spanish priests. Mr. Doane, who was a brother-in-law of Dr. Davis, was sent in irons to Manila. On receipt of the news, Dr. Davis immediately made preparations for going to Manila to help Mr. Doane. On the way down the mountain, he was met with a telegram, stating that Mr. Doane had been released and was being sent back to Ponape, honorably acquitted by the Spanish Government.

Dr. Davis had grave anxieties for the safety of the American Board's work in Micronesia and wrote to United States Minister Hubbard and to Rear Admiral Chandler of the American squadron, at that time in Japanese waters, calling their attention to the danger confronting American interests in the Caroline Islands, and urging that a warship be at once despatched to the scene of disturbance. Since the natives had risen against the tyranny of their new rulers and had wiped out the Spanish garrison stationed on Ponape, there was danger of bloody reprisals and the confiscation of mission property and the breaking up of that work. Through this prompt action, the U. S. S. "Essex" was sent to Ponape and arrived in time to prevent serious disaster in the islands.

The adoption of the Red Cross by Japan in 1886 was

noted with the liveliest interest by Dr. Davis. He was an admirer of the founder of the organization, Miss Clara Barton, and had watched with satisfaction the growth of the Red Cross movement since the close of the Civil War. He deprecated the tardy adoption of the International Red Cross Treaty by the United States and the failure of Congress to protect the insignia of the society. When in Washington, in the summer of 1894, he called upon Miss Barton to express his appreciation of her work and to study the organization of the movement. At this time a bill, providing government protection for the insignia of the Red Cross, was pending congressional action and, at Miss Barton's request, Dr. Davis wrote an article on its behalf in "The Independent" of February 14th, 1895. The Red Cross Society printed and distributed five thousand copies of the article among congressmen, senators, politicians and publicists throughout the country. This plea for the recognition of the Red Cross is among the strongest products of Dr. Davis' pen. It not only won Miss Barton's gratitude for a service which she characterized as "entirely priceless to the Red Cross cause," but contributed to the passing of a later measure which gave full recognition and protection to the Red Cross Society, in the United States.

No summary of Dr. Davis' work as a missionary would be complete without mention of the literary activity with which he was occupied, whenever the press of school and outside work allowed. It was mostly accomplished in connection with his teaching, growing out of his class-room work or supplementing his evangelistic activity. His friends often remarked on the fact that a man of his active temperament had the patience and found the time to write to the extent that he did. The "Mission News" of December 15th, 1910, says of him: — "He was a prolific writer and his literary activity during the past decade was noticeable. No other member of the mission has written as

many books, tracts, and articles calculated to exert a direct evangelistic influence, and no one, except Dr. Learned, belongs in the same productive class. . . . As an author he exerted a powerful influence."

The first evangelistic tract published by the mission and the first original tract appearing in Japan, the "Chika Michi," or "The short way of knowing the true God," came from his pen during his third year in Japan. It has had a remarkably wide circulation, and from its simplicity, directness and sympathy has accomplished a valuable work. We are told by the publisher that more than a million copies of this tract have been published. This was the first output of the "Fukuinsha,"[1] which later became the "Keiseisha."[1] A simple hymn-book written in the "Kana"[2] was also a product of those earliest days.

During the next five years he prepared a number of tracts and hand-books to meet the immediate exigencies of the growing churches: "A Brief Introduction to Christianity," "The Need, Object and the Right Use of the Sabbath," "A Brief Natural Theology," "Proofs of the Authenticity, Credibility, and Divine Authority of the Bible," "Commentary on Matthew in the Colloquial," "A Short Sketch of Church History," "An Abridgment of Cushing's Manual of Parliamentary Rules," and "A Handbook on Church Organization and Activities and Discipline." From his connection with the Doshisha began a series of books and essays that terminated only with his death. His earlier books were summaries of his lectures in the Theological School. Thus between 1885 and 1890 appeared his "Christian Evidences," "Commentary on Matthew and Luke," "Natural Theology," and "Introduction to Theology." His largest work in Japanese, "The Great Principles of Theology," a volume of 1,070 pages, appeared in 1893, just as

[1] See page 133.
[2] "Syllabary used by the common people."

the reaction which discounted theology was starting. Dr. Davis did not expect that the edition of five hundred volumes published by the mission would ever be sold. One of the cheering evidences of the return to fundamentals of faith was the request of the Keiseisha in 1906 for a second edition of this work.

"A Systematic Theology" appeared in 1889, "A Life of Neesima" in 1890, and these were followed in rapid succession by "An Outline History of Christian Doctrine," "An Outline Study of Ethics," "Moral Education," "Progress of Thought in Theology," etc. To meet the personal problems and difficulties of his students was a practical aim of his writings. These took the form of booklets of from fifty to one hundred pages, and dealt with such subjects as "The What and the Why of My Faith," "Character Building," "The Existence of the Soul," "Moral Education," "Christ and Other Masters," "The Personality of God." He discussed, also, the controverted theological questions of the time: "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," "The Pentateuchal Question," "God Working Through Evolution," "The Existence of the Soul," "New Theories of Evolution." Another group of writings was devotional and inspirational in character: "Christ's Great Promises," "Spiritual Power of the Christian," "The All-Conquering Power of the Christian," "Spiritual Movements of Christianity," "Effective Evangelism," and "Revivals."

With Dr. Davis, to have a deep conviction was to desire that others should share it with him, and this desire often found an outlet in action. He frequently published his convictions, whether relating to Theology, the condition of the Japanese church, the dangers of a crippling financial policy, or the situation in the Doshisha. During the earlier years of rapid growth in the school and general work, whatever he wrote was readily accepted by the denominational papers in the United States, and had its share of influence upon

the constituency of the American Board. With the tide of reaction, however, his estimates of the spiritual and theological trend failed to please the home constituency and his writings were less frequently seen. Most men under these circumstances would have considered that with the closing of the press to their convictions, their case was hopeless; not so with Dr. Davis. Time and again, when the "Congregationalist," or "Advance," or "Independent" sent back his articles, he published them himself, in the form of open letters, and sent them to hundreds of the leading men of his denomination in the United States. The clarion tones of his open letter to the Congregational Churches of America, in the face of imminent action looking toward the gradual closing of the work of the Japan Mission, helped to correct the impression that the work of the missionary was at an end in Japan. It was a joy to him to live to see the day when his position upon this vital question was vindicated and he saw the Church and the Board rally to the support of their work in Japan.

The literary work for which Dr. Davis will be remembered is the biography of his friend and colleague, Dr. Joseph Hardy Neesima. Out of deference to Mr. Hardy, Dr. Neesima's early benefactor, who was preparing a similar sketch, he at first limited himself to a Japanese edition. It was not long, however, before doubts regarding the spirituality and greatness of the Japanese leader became manifest, and this led him to publish an English edition in Japan, thoroughly vindicating his friend. To this is due the spiritual interpretation of the book, with the intimate picture of Neesima's inner life and struggles which it contains. In the second edition of the Japanese biography, he aimed to correct certain current misapprehensions regarding Christianity and Christian education. The "Life of Neesima" has been revised twice in the English edition, has been translated into several European and Oriental lan-

guages and is widely used as a text-book for mission study. More than one Japanese boy has entered the Doshisha through reading the life of this modern national hero.

It was Dr. Davis' custom to send one of his books, as a Christmas remembrance, to each of his former pupils and to many of his friends. By this method he kept personal relationships warm and in no small degree influenced the thought and Christian experience of the Church. In trying to stem the current of radicalism and loose thinking in the religious world of Japan, he sent out appeals for loyalty to the fundamentals of religious belief, to large numbers of workers of all denominations. In certain quarters, these efforts doubtless failed to accomplish their purpose, but not a few missionaries and pastors of other churches state that he exerted a real influence in holding men during a period when religious convictions were wavering in Japan.

Regarding the more than fifty books and pamphlets that Dr. Davis published, he wrote: — "I have never written anything for money or for fame, and my Japanese books, poorly prepared by a foreigner, bring me disgrace rather than fame. What I have written has been from an inner impulse to express my convictions of truth and, especially, spiritual truth. My prayer is, that God will use the weak things as his instruments to do his work. I suppose that I ought to be ashamed that I have attempted so much and have not, rather, done less, better. I have been a kind of 'John the Baptist,' preparing the way, and I am thankful that a great number of better writers, foreign and Japanese, are now ready to carry on the work."

As in his speaking, so in his writing, the work was done in the midst of continual interruptions. Never, save in the summer weeks of rest upon Mt. Hiei, did he have consecutive periods for his literary work. No one was more conscious of this lack than he, but it was a condition over which he had no control, and, as such, he refused to let it

hinder him from what he felt impelled to attempt. He wrote to meet special crises, immediate situations, and that which his pen lacked in literary style and elegance of diction, it made up in a promptitude, force and simplicity of expression that usually commanded attention.

Chapter XXI

RELATIONSHIPS

IT is in the realm of personal relationships that we find some of the largest sources of Dr. Davis' influence and success as a missionary. No historical treatment of his life would be complete unless supplemented by a brief glimpse into the hearts of those friends who were in a position to know him as a man and a fellow missionary.

From the first, he identified himself with Japan and with the Japanese. He met the final test of the missionary in his ability to thoroughly respect and deeply love the people. He frequently alluded to Japan as his adopted country, and his appreciation of the admirable qualities of the nation and his belief in her great destiny were very strong. His affection for the people was of such a transparent kind as to be a source of comment with the Japanese. Rev. K. Miyagawa, of Osaka, in speaking of this attitude, says: "The way he loved the Japanese was above our understanding. It seemed, at times, as if he loved the nation more than we ourselves did. It is the influence of that love and self-sacrifice that caused me to devote my life to evangelistic work."

Mr. K. Tomeoka, of the Home Reform School, of Tokyo, said: "Dr. Davis knew and loved the Japanese deeply, and on this account I never felt when with him that he was a foreigner." He did not have to tell the Japanese that he loved them nor praise them with constant flattery. On the contrary, he seldom used praise, preferring to inflict the wounds of a faithful friend. This brave candor, instead of repelling, drew men to him, convinced of his love and honesty. A prominent Japanese wrote of him: "His was a

clean-cut, transparent character, just as a bamboo splits evenly into two beautiful straight pieces. He adapted himself to his surroundings and, comparatively early, understood the heart of Japan. This was because he felt as a Japanese. He well knew the spirit of the age and his addresses and books, though conservative, were well adapted to meet its needs."

That his sympathy should reach beyond the circle of ordinary relationships seemed strange to his Japanese friends. Ex-President Shimomura, of the Doshisha, relates, "Though I changed my field of work and entered business, he always loved me in spite of it. When I failed in a certain enterprise and everything looked dark, Drs. Davis and Gordon were the only people who came to condole with me. Strange that the only sympathizers in failure should have been foreigners."

He appealed to the national sense of hero worship. In the natural gifts with which he had been endowed, the Japanese found evidence of the spirit of "Yamato Damashii," or the true samurai, to whom they liked to compare him. His military bearing and fearless spirit opened early doors of opportunity and continued to be a source of charm to the Japanese. One student in speaking of this quality said: "Even though you were to say, 'Japanese Hero,' Davis san is a hero."

Dr. Davis' affection for the land and the people did not betray him into the mistake of shutting his eyes to their faults and inconsistencies. "May 30th, 1900. The Doshisha Constitution is at last accepted by the Department of Education. They refused to accept it until the school was reorganized, and they refused to allow the school to be reorganized until it had completed the school year last March. Then after a year of waiting, the term of service of two of the trustees who signed the Constitution when it was adopted had expired, and one other was elected. Now,

when we applied the other day, for registration of the Constitution here in the Kyoto Fu, they object because of these changes in the personnel of the trustees. This is an example of how lower officials in Japan are apt to act like children just to show their importance. I suppose the matter will be arranged in some way, but it shows that this people need the Gospel of Christ to lift them up above such pettiness."

He never acted surprised or disgusted at signs of weakness, but used to remark frequently that it was because of such things that he was in Japan. He saw the faults of the people but not with a critical eye. As one who knew him well said, "He recognized that some Japanese are bad and untrustworthy, just as many are good and great." He detected meanness and sham under the guise of politeness and despised it, but never condemned the nation as a whole for the faults of individuals or of certain classes. He believed, profoundly, in the inherent sturdiness of character of the common people and the farming class of Japan, and that here might be found sources of future national power and integrity.

He saw, however, the necessity of standing uncompromisingly for certain principles of probity, and he loved the Japanese so genuinely that he was willing to oppose and offend them to the extent of incurring bitter opposition and unpopularity for the sake of these principles. He loved Japan and the Japanese for what they were, but it was the potential Japan, from the standpoint of the power of Christ, that aroused his passionate devotion.

His experiences with the Doshisha did not embitter or prejudice him. He heartily endorsed the selection of Rev. T. Harada as president, in 1905, although he had been a member of the old board of trustees, and he supported him most loyally in his representations to the American Board, repeatedly stating his complete confidence in him

and in his plans for the school. He said: "We have everything to gain, from this time forward, in taking the Japanese into our fullest confidence and conference."

In every possible manner, he obliterated national distinctions and interpreted the motives of his Japanese associates generously. Rev. M. R. Gaines in speaking of this trait says: "In those days (1886) the twenty-five members of the faculty were about equally divided between Japanese and foreigners. In faculty meetings, if from the trend of discussion it was evident that a vote would result in a division along nationalistic lines, Dr. Davis was sure to hit upon some way to postpone a vote until opportunity for more light was given on the subject. He dreaded schism as much as the coming of cholera."

That his affection and admiration for the Japanese were reciprocated in kind, there is abundant evidence. We have seen how Dr. Neesima relied upon him for support and inspiration. Dr. Neesima was fond of telling of a call upon the President of Beloit College, in which he asked why the American churches did not send more men like Dr. Davis to Japan. "President Chapin, in a small voice, replied, 'To tell the truth, such men as Dr. Davis are not plentiful in the United States.'" Of the friendship between Dr. Neesima and his missionary friend, Professor T. Murata of the Tokyo Women's University says: "The relationship between them was beautiful, deep and warm, and rare between Japanese and foreigners. Death could not change it. As the translator of Dr. Davis' 'Life of Neesima,' I understood the labor that he put upon that book. With great pains he thus introduced Dr. Neesima to the world." Dr. Dwight L. Learned, whose thirty-four years of close association in the Doshisha enabled him to know Dr. Davis as possibly no other colleague, says: "We have had not a few strong men on the roll of our mission, but no other, I think, who was so widely and deeply loved by the Japanese, and

no other who so nearly justifies my ideal of a missionary hero. It is a striking token of the real love of the Japanese for him that they retained it so fully in spite of their differences in Theology. Possibly his real greatness, his great talent for leadership and his executive abilities would have had more scope among a less developed people, where missionaries do not have to keep themselves so much in the background."

More than one pastor has said, with Mr. Miyagawa of Osaka, "The way he spent himself for Doshisha and for the church was more than we could understand. If the future of the Kumi-ai Church be written, we will find many missionaries working, but among them Dr. Davis has a first place."

Rev. T. Osada of Niigata tells of the intimate fellowship enjoyed with Dr. Davis during six weeks of touring together in the northern island of Hokkaido. "We travelled together on horseback, in springless carts and on foot, putting up in rough huts and cheerless places with the poorest food. Dr. Davis said that it was true 'roughing it,' and that it reminded him of the experiences of the Civil War. He showed me how to roast the green corn which grows there abundantly, and we ate it on the cob together. Finding some apples, he got a kettle and stewed up some nice apple sauce. He rode his horse with the skill of an experienced rider, and said he had learned to ride on his father's farm, before he went to the army. I pounded along behind on my steed with much awkwardness and discomfort, so that the farmer children cried out with glee at the contrast in our riding. The similarity of scenery, forests and products of Hokkaido to his native country, rejoiced his heart, which he opened to me in warmest fellowship as we travelled and worked like two brothers or like father and son for the Master. I cannot forget such fellowship. The two men who, more than all others, have

made me what I am today are Joseph Neesima and Dr. Davis."

Mr. K. Tsunashima, in the Fukuin Shimpo, of January, 1911, spoke of him as belonging to more than Japan, to the whole Christian Church; and as worthy to rank with Henry Martyn, Alexander Duff and Davis Livingstone in missionary history, while Dr. D. C. Greene, in commenting upon this statement, said: "I think the same thought has been in many minds."

A Japanese pastor, in speaking of Dr. Davis' understanding of the Japanese and of human nature, said: "Moving the hearts of people is like sinking a well: after digging a certain distance one comes to a layer of rock. If that can be penetrated abundant streams of water will gush forth. This supply of water is the Japanese heart which a few missionaries know so well how to touch. If the well digger would go deeper, he will strike another layer of rock, and penetrating this will unseal still greater supplies of perennial water. This deeper spring is the universal human heart which Dr. Davis understood, to which he spoke and which he was able to move."

Chapter XXII

RELATIONSHIPS: HIS MISSION COLLEAGUES

DR. Davis' capacity for friendship had also ample scope for exercise in the circle of able colleagues with whom he was associated, as well as in the larger missionary group of the empire. He was generous in his appreciation of the men and women with whom he worked, and often spoke of their abilities, consecration and adaptation to the work. Those constitutionally opposed to his own policies he credited with noble motives and high abilities. In 1879 he wrote to Dr. Clark: "We men had a glorious talk the other night. We are closely drawn together without the slightest thing separating us. It would be, indeed, difficult to find two men so well adapted for the work or who are such jewels to work with, as Mr. Learned and Dr. Gordon. You may as well know that we have started a mutual admiration society."

His largeness of heart and quick intuition enabled him to understand the circumstances of his friends to an unusual extent. Among the appeals which he presented to the American Board for his colleagues were opportunities for post-graduate study in Europe, longer furloughs, extra travel grants, larger outfit allowances, more comfortable homes, endorsement of individual enterprises, such as newspapers, publication work and special study, and unusual financial stress. Among the American Board archives were found sixteen separate appeals to the Prudential Committee for generous treatment of colleagues who were under special financial strain, and in more than one case he offered and actually sent to the treasurer in Boston a part

of his own salary to be used in case the Board should be unable to act. The fact that during thirty years of correspondence with the Board there is not a letter found in which he asked for generous treatment for himself is one that gave a peculiar potency to his appeals for his friends.

The same qualities of sympathy and intuition, coupled with common sense and tact, rendered him an effective mediator in case of dead-locks and difficulties in the work. He was often called upon for service as "go-between" among the Japanese and between Japanese and foreigners. Rev. O. H. Gulick, who was closely associated with Dr. Davis in the early years of the mission, said: "He was born for friendship and was true through and through. To him was due, in large measure, the substantial harmony and unity that characterized the American Board Mission in Japan."

The late Dr. D. C. Greene, senior member of the American Board Mission, emphasized his capacity for friendship. "From the first day of his arrival Dr. Davis was very near to me and helped me greatly by his friendly and sympathetic counsel. Although I had been two years in the field, he had larger responsibilities upon his shoulders and was more mature in many ways than I, so that I looked up to him as an older brother. His point of view was, for the most part, identical with mine and we were found on the same side of most of the questions of mission policy. The breadth and heartiness of his sympathy was a marked characteristic. No one in perplexity or sorrow ever turned to him in vain. He was a noble man, a true and faithful friend and a great missionary.

"As darkness brings out the stars, obstacles, opposition, and hostility seemed to exhibit his brilliant, clear, shining Christian character. Probably the most difficult work that he ever did was his fight for the Doshisha in the nineties. If he and Neesima were the co-founders, he alone

was the saviour of the school. No one else could have stood in that breach and won out. The moral courage displayed was greater than any he showed in the Civil War, or anywhere else. His heart bled when he had to oppose old pupils whom he loved deeply. The wounds of that fight healed, but he bore to his grave the scars."

Rev. Henry Loomis, of the American Bible Society, wrote: "As a missionary, he had just the qualities that fitted him for the greatest usefulness. No man I have ever met reminded me so forcefully of President Lincoln and possessed, to such a remarkable degree, the same characteristics. Not only was he the same type of man, but he had also the remarkable gift of being able to tell stories that were inimitable and illustrative of the subject like nothing else."

Dr. James H. Ballagh, of the Reformed Church, with a half-century of missionary experience in Japan, says of him: "In his labors for the direct evangelization of the people, the establishment of the church and the deepening of the piety of Christian workers, as well as in education and sound evangelical doctrine, he was a mighty power for good. No one was ever at a loss to know where he stood."

The secretaries of the American Board relied upon and expressed their confidence in his judgment. In the early years of reaction, Dr. N. G. Clark replied to a letter from Dr. Davis which expressed anxiety over the outlook: "If we cannot do what we would, let us do what we can and trust God for the rest. I think I have had no statement of missionary principles touching Japan which I could so heartily accept through and through as I find in this letter of yours. Now let me, personally, thank you for all your effort for Japan during these twenty years."

Upon Dr. Davis' death, Secretary Barton wrote: "How we shall miss him in connection with Japan! From the

very first day that I came into this office, I was brought more or less into connection with him, and in all Japanese matters we have relied greatly upon his judgment. I do not know that at a single point any action has been taken by this Board contrary to his judgment and advice; certainly not when we knew it."

One of Dr. Davis' striking qualities was enthusiasm. It showed in his walk, in his speech and in his writings. Though sometimes a source of amusement to his friends, this quality was undoubtedly one source of his influence. As one of his colleagues remarked, " His strong convictions were contagious and carried others with them. It was hard not to think that what so good a man so strongly felt must be surely altogether right and the only right thing; it seemed almost heresy to differ with him." Rev. Arthur Stanford describes this quality, " How grandly he retained his youthful enthusiasms. His latest evangelistic tour was always his best, the last book the most inspiring. He saw men, ideas and things in the large. He was often seeing crises when no one else saw them and hence he often seemed to exaggerate situations. He was aware of this, for he once said publicly, 'You must subtract seventy-five percent. from what I say to get a fair average,' — a remark in itself an exaggeration. But his exaggeration was of the oratorical kind and had to do with opportunities rather than facts, and as the marksman who aims above the bull's eye hits it, so he usually made a strong impression upon his audience." His enthusiasms, his vivid speech and striking utterances rendered him good company. " His favorite exclamation, 'Great Guns and Little Injuns,' " says Dr. Learned, — " indicated one of his prominent characteristics. Life was, indeed, to him a campaign amid big guns and it seemed to give a zest to life to have him in company; something great was doing; life was indeed real and earnest. Possibly, the heavy artillery was sometimes too

much in evidence on the field; that is, he was in danger of taking things too seriously."

He felt things intensely and expressed himself accordingly. Such phrases as, "Now is the time to bring up all the reserve we have with God and with men," were frequent and indicated the martial trend of his mind. He was fond of placing a money valuation upon experiences that he specially prized: "This air is worth five dollars a minute," and, "This view is worth ten dollars a minute," were phrases often heard from a mountain top or summer excursion. "We got into the city by the skin of our teeth and hung on by our eyelids," he exclaimed, when once describing the entrance of the Christian movement into Kyoto. He was remarkably alive and responsive to his surroundings. There were few neutral tones and colors in his spectroscope: men and things and events stood out clean-cut, revealed in black and white to his quick imagination.

His conscience was developed to an unusual degree. President Harada of the Doshisha tells how once when he had sent out a circular letter to several hundred friends and workers with insufficient postage, which subjected all the recipients to the postal fine of one sen, he could not rest until a letter of apology accompanied by a one sen stamp had been sent to each person whom he had inconvenienced.

Mr. W. M. Vories, of the Omi Mission, tells of a discussion regarding the justifiability of falsehood, which one day arose at the table. "I shall never forget his positiveness of dictum, as pushing back his chair and bringing his hand down with a quick gesture he exclaimed, 'As for me, I could not bring myself to tell a lie, even to save life.'"

His character showed apparent contradictions and paradoxical traits. Offsetting his independence and seeming indifference to opposition, was an extreme sensitiveness to

criticism and a shrinking from placing himself where he was not wanted. There were few things that he feared so much as an unsympathetic audience. On his last return to Japan on the Pacific Mail S. S. "China" in December, 1905, it fell to him to arrange the Sabbath services, and as the other clergymen on board excused themselves, he assumed responsibility for the whole service. "I did not want to do it. I dreaded it, but I felt I ought to bear witness to the Lord's work and he helped me in it." The same terror of not being able to satisfy those whom he served led him to request to be allowed to do deputation work in the middle West, where he felt at home, instead of in New England.

However, general attacks or criticism of missions and missionaries so common at one time in the English press in Japan, he seldom read and never answered. When questioned regarding the matter he would say, "It never pays to stop to throw stones at barking dogs."

An unusual egoism, not to be confused with egotism, was interwoven with a modesty and self-effacement that stood in strange contrast. "This egoism was a result of his individualism," said Dr. Otis Cary. "He thought much of his own personal duties to men and God and was led to speak freely of himself and of his experiences in public, as well as in private, but without self-exaltation. One of the contradictions in Dr. Davis' nature was, on the one hand, his tendency to consider that he stood alone in matters of faith and principle, his willingness to single-handedly, as he often thought, oppose himself to the general trend in the religious and theological world; a tendency which grew with age and was regretted by many of his colleagues, who were generally closer to him than he understood. He often spoke and acted as though he were suffering alone over some of the distressing situations in which he was placed, when in reality his colleagues were experi-

encing the same pain and anxieties. Opposed to this trait was his unwillingness in matters of mission and station policy, to stand with a small minority, or to have a divided vote stand. He would always apply himself to the problem of re-framing the motion or of compromising with the opposition until a unanimous or fairly united action could be reached. I cannot recall a single instance of placing himself on record in a small minority vote or against a generally expressed opinion. It was not that he did not have strong convictions, but he believed in yielding to the majority and was willing to swing over and loyally support issues which he could not in the first instance endorse."

He shrank from prominence and often held back from public honors that were his due, but if plans called for difficult, unpleasant or humble work, he was ready to accept such a part. A fund of tenderness and reverence for the personality, that is the basis of all true culture, offset a certain brusqueness and sturdy indifference to the dictates of fashion which offended some on first meeting him. His courtesy toward women was rarely equalled by those who criticised his roughness. He felt his lack in these things and his surprise and pleasure were very great on being once told by a Southern lady, that his courtliness to women approached more nearly the standards of the old South than those she usually met in Japan. Though formidable as an antagonist and uncompromising upon matters of vital principle, he never failed to honor his opponent's reality of conviction, and he could win or lose in such a way as to keep the respect and affection of those whom he opposed. His charity toward those differing with him enabled him to hold men's hearts even when he could not convince their minds.

A quick appreciation of beauty in every form was a characteristic that enriched his life. In 1888, he wrote to

his children: "I have been thinking much lately of the beauty there is in the world, the sky, clouds, trees, the flowers and a thousand other things. If we could only always look at the beautiful, instead of the ugly things of life, and at our blessings and not our sorrows, we should be happier. In the same way we would get more solid comfort out of life and do more good, if we thought of the sure things of the present and future. There are too many glorious actualities to allow us to grieve over 'might have beens,' or 'may be's,' in this world." He had a ready appreciation of the lovely art work of the people among whom he lived. After describing the minute labor spent upon the damascene and cloisonné ware of Kyoto which he had shown to visiting friends who were more interested in art than in the Doshisha, he said: "If I had ten thousand dollars that I could not put to better use, I should like to place that amount of beauty in my home, but I had rather lay up my treasures where moth and rust do not corrupt and where thieves do not break through and steal. I can wait for the furnishing of my house until I have a more permanent one.

"The beauty and symmetry which the microscope reveals in the insect and vegetable worlds fill me with awe, wonder and gratitude. Some of the structures are so exquisitely beautiful that it is almost a pain to me to look at them. It is more than my poor body can endure. If the undevout astronomer is mad, so is the undevout microscopist."

He was often in a meditative mood regarding the future life and enjoyed arguing from the beauties of earth to the glories of heaven. He used to say: "I get as curious as a boy when I think about the things over there." Upon the death of a sister-in-law, who had spent years in his home, he wrote: "My mind has dwelt a good deal, lately, upon the many mansions in our Father's house. It is certain

that the spiritual does not exist for the material, but that the material universe was created for the spiritual. The hundred millions of suns already charted upon the maps of the astronomer suggest such possibilities of the mansions which may be our home through the eternal years, that I look to the life and the study and the work there with increasing hope and zest every year."

Chapter XXIII

RELATIONSHIPS: HIS FAMILY

LACKING as it had been in his own training, intimate self-expression was unnatural to Dr. Davis, and even with his own family it was not easy to open his heart. He was, however, essentially a family man. In the midst of a morning's work he would join in a game of prisoner's base or hide and seek with the children and for the time outdo them all in boyish exuberance of spirits. He took a keen relish in the development and conversation of his little children. He aided his growing boys in their engineering and boat-building schemes and even planned for them a coasting trip with the American sled to the top of Mt. Hiei, seven miles away. As soon as they were old enough to climb the mountain, his boys accompanied him upon the annual survey of the summer camp, where they helped in its repair and camped out together in the cedar forest. To a very unusual degree he kept in touch with household problems and was seldom too busy to get out his tool box and make repairs and, in a multitude of ways, advance the comforts and conveniences of the home.

His habit of picnicking one day in seven, was another point of contact with his children, who often accompanied the parents to the beauty spots around Kyoto. Each child had his load to carry, and woe betide the one who kept the party waiting after the appointed hour. Weather seldom stood in the way of a promised outing; they usually started rain or shine, greatly to the credit of the father's reputation with the children. A camp-fire dinner of roasted potatoes or corn on the cob would be followed by inimitable stories from his own experience or some well-chosen book.

The homeward walk was enlivened for small, weary feet with marching songs and mimic evolutions, while now and then the Captain hid behind some great cryptomeria tree or stone image along the line of march and roguishly put to rout his whole command.

Dr. Davis took advanced ground upon the question of vacations and proper measures for maintaining health in Japan. He did not criticise those who considered his precautions extreme, but contented himself with the principle that time would justify his course and that the same rules could not be applied to all men. After his first breakdown in 1879, he learned to gauge his own strength and needs, and to safeguard them became a part of his religion. When the Board felt compelled to cut off vacation allowances in 1879, his protest was sent in the return mail. "This travel allowance has been the means of keeping several of us from breaking down. To cut off this $50.00 will be a saving of a few hundred dollars a year to the Board, but I fear it will cost you, in the end, many thousands of dollars and some men. I shall take my rest each Summer, if the heavens fall, but others will not get the change they need, since they will try to rest in the station where they live because this appropriation has stopped. You might as well talk about the generals of an army resting at the front in the midst of an assault upon the enemies' works."

His affection for Kyoto, with its beautiful environment of mountain, temple and lake, grew with each year. On returning from his last furlough he wrote to his family, still in America: "I have just returned from *our walk*, and the memories of those who have been with me on it so many times is good company. But the old mountains at which I have been looking for thirty years are also good company. I cannot be lonely on Hiei; each nook and tree and walk is peopled with memories of those I love and who for thirty years have walked with me under those groves."

His memories went back to the first summer upon the mountain, in 1876, when after receiving permission from Tokyo to spend two months upon Mt. Hiei, he had moved his family to summer amid its cool groves and picturesque temple ruins. "Within a day or two, a priest who lived on the mountain told me that we were on temple property and must move off. I asked him how far the temple reservations extended, and he said, 'to the foot of the mountain on all sides.' I showed him my permit from the Foreign Department to live in tents for two months on Mt. Hiei, but he said that made no difference, we must move off. I told him we should not move off until ordered by the Foreign Department.

"The next day, the priest returned with the mayor of the village that had jurisdiction of the mountain. The mayor ordered me to leave. I showed him my permit, but he again ordered me to go, which I refused to do on the same grounds as before. Soon after, an officer from the Province of Shiga came up to look into the matter. Examining my passport, he pointed to the printed regulations upon its back, stating that it was limited to thirty days. I showed him the written statement upon the face of the passport, permitting me two months' residence on Mt. Hiei, and told him that the written permission took precedence of the printed rules. He replied that the back of my passport did not agree with the face, and that I should have had them correspond before coming onto the mountain. I finally told him that I was there, as stated on the passport, for health; that my seven months old baby was very sick with inflammation of the bowels, and that it would probably prove fatal to move him down into the heat; that I could not move at present and would not until ordered to do so from the central government. He went back to Otsu and began telegraphing to Tokyo. I began to get anxious about our situation.

"I next saw an old priest who had lived long on the mountain and asked him if he could not show me the lines of the temple reservation. He refused at first, but with the promise of a reward, agreed to meet me at daybreak and show me the boundaries. It turned out, as I had suspected, that the lines which had until recently extended to the foot of the mountain, had been cut down the previous year, and I found that by moving our tents a few rods, we would be off the temple grounds. I reported my discovery and willingness to move, to the Otsu official, who was entirely satisfied, and although the priests in their anger refused to let us draw water from their spring, the Otsu provincial office gave me permission to do so. Thus after moving our tents to a most delightful spot, overlooking the city of Kyoto and the mountain ranges to the West, we passed a restful summer."

Of settling the summer camp in the rainy season and the difficulties of getting provisions packed up the mountain, he wrote: "You cannot do anything in this country without being reminded that you are in a foreign land. I had carefully packed in a large pail what is left of our pickled butter, packed on a California ranch a year ago last Spring, not very fresh, but better than what we get here. I put in enough of the original brine pickle to cover the butter and gave it to a man to carry by hand with some crockery. When the pail reached camp, all the brine had been emptied out 'to make it lighter.' This has not improved our butter. These things are not worth mentioning, except to let you see the small side of our lives. We have an easier time than Paul did in his missionary work."

Though economy was practised in the home, it was applied so carefully as to cause neither humiliation nor discomfort to the children, and, if luxuries were scarce, there was never a lack of the best things of life in food, clothing, books, games, pictures and music. Dr. Davis was a

master at finance: never too busy to drive a bargain, nor too proud to save by the use of ingenuity or self-denial. He had the good sense, however, not to entail his self-denials upon others nor to expect his children to practise all the economies that appealed to him. "Do not count on uncertain sources of income and think all around a question before spending," he wrote to a son in college. "This will serve you a good turn all your life. I have never owed a man a cent in my life, unless it was some little account that could not well be paid from day to day. Make a point to have from three to six months' expenses ahead, so that when any unexpected emergency arises you can meet it without borrowing. . . . Anything which will make me more efficient for my work, spiritually, physically or mentally, is a legitimate use of it."

He applied these principles so thoroughly that his wife had to intervene occasionally between his conscience and himself. He enjoyed telling of the overcoat which after having worn for seven winters he had had turned and used seven years longer. Half apologetically, he would add, "I could have worn it a good deal longer, but that the elbows and sleeves were worn through from the thousands of miles of rubbing on the arms of jinrickshas."

He was accustomed to travel third-class upon many of his railway trips. A friend living in the far north tells of how upon leaving him after an evangelistic tour, Dr. Davis, at the railway station, handed him five yen for the local work and then bought a third-class ticket for Tokyo. "It made a deep impression upon me. In other words, he presented me with thirty hours of comfort to help our work." Although for twelve years the trunk lines in Japan had provided sleeping cars, until within a few months of his death Dr. Davis had never used one. When he finally did, it was through the mistake of the porter, who had been told to arrange a place in the ordinary car, but made

up a berth for him instead. Since the bill was already made out, he did not trouble them to have it changed, and slept in a sleeper for the first time in Japan.

The death of his first wife and the separation from his children revealed a new tenderness in his letters. He determined not to lose his children, and threw himself unreservedly into the weekly letter, which for twenty years spanned the ocean and continent that lay between them. He tried to help his children in their problems by suggesting wise principles of action, but final decisions were left to them. Even if he could not approve of the wisdom of their choices, he honored their judgment and sympathetically backed their plans. He strongly disapproved his son's playing football, but rejoiced with him in the success of his team, and added, "I am reconciled to your having played this season now that you have stood well in your studies and have not broken your neck." When one of his sons persisted in a summer in Swiss Alpine climbing, against his father's judgment, Dr. Davis, finally, sent him one hundred dollars, as a margin of safety, and heartily sympathised with him in the joys of the experience.

His own dread of proving a burden to his friends is reflected in a large number of letters, urging his children to show consideration toward those from whom they received kindness and hospitality. "I hope that you will try to be as helpful as possible wherever you visit this Summer. Take nothing as your right or as a matter of course. Do not expect others to wait upon you, and when you see that people are doing their own work, to which you add, be sure to do your part of it."

Even more did he urge that quality which was so closely related to his own success. "I hope that you will hold on in your work till the end of your contract. Not only will your reputation be affected by this, but what is worth far more, the foundation of real reputation, your character will

be affected by it. It is generally best to stick to one's decisions, especially in a public contract, where one has carefully considered the matter. The bent of mind which will hold on and hold in and hold out, in the face of great difficulties, is one of the chief secrets of success."

When the war with Spain broke out, in 1898, and his son who was in college wished to enlist, Dr. Davis wrote: "I see that President McKinley has called out 100,000 volunteers. I hope that you will go on with your studies calmly in the midst of this excitement. This is not going to be a great war. Men in your position and with your life purpose are not called to enlist until the country absolutely needs them. There are a thousand whose going is not likely to break up life plans, where there is one, like you, whose going is apt to do this. Be ready to go if you are needed to save the country, but do not go because there is a chance. You can serve your country best by staying where you are and preparing for service in a higher battle. You are the son of a soldier, but you are the son of a soldier who did not go until it became evident that his country would be lost if he did not fight, and who also lay awake for joy all the first night after the order came to be mustered out of service. War is 'hell on earth'; keep out of it if you can."

He aimed that his children should realize the value of their opportunities and the moral responsibilities which such opportunities carried with them. "These are priceless years. They will never come back. If General Grant had realized, when a cadet at the Military Academy, that he was to command the armies of the United States, he would probably have studied harder than he did. You may be called upon to take an active part in a conflict even greater than the Civil War, a conflict whose issue will be the making of the kingdoms of this world the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." However deep the impression of

such letters, it was the life behind them which was a stronger argument than the father could know for determining the life principles of his children. Those who know him best are not surprised that five of his six children have chosen their father's calling of foreign missionary service.[1]

The devotion of Livingstone had fired his imagination and fixed his interest in the dark continent. As a young man he had said: "If I had two lives I would put one into Africa." When the question of his eldest daughter's location in missionary work was finally decided in favor of Africa, there was not a tinge of regret in his letters. "I have always wanted to put one life into Africa; now perhaps I can, through my daughter."

He was extremely fond of biography, especially of great missionaries. Duff, Martyn, Carey, Livingstone, Morrison, Xavier, Wilfrid and Bernard of Clairvaux were among the lives to which he often turned for inspiration. January 1st, 1900, he wrote: "I have been reading the lives of Austin Phelps, Hamlin and Duff recently, and very rich reading they are. I enjoy true biography much better than fiction. It is marvellous to see how the life of one man like Duff, impinging on a great continent as India, changes its history. His success came from his loyalty to God's word and his determination that it should be taught in his schools."

As children, we both feared and adored our father. Usually, one word from his compressed lips or a glance of his penetrating eye was enough to cut short childish lawlessness. It was not that his punishments were severe; he seldom punished us, but his disapproval and sorrow at our wrongdoing were too intense to arouse carelessly. The other side of that strong nature, the tenderness, like

[1] Mrs. F. B. Bridgman of Johannesburg, So. Africa, Mrs. C. B. Olds, of Niigata Japan, Mrs. R. E. Chandler, of Tientsin, China, Mr. J. D. Davis, of Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., and J. M. Davis of Tokyo, Japan.

a woman's, with which he cared for our delicate mother or nursed us when sick, few were privileged to understand. He relied upon the best medical skill obtainable, but he also believed in the duty of the parent in the care of the child, for he had an unusual sense of his accountability to God for the lives and destiny of those who were entrusted to his fatherhood. This acceptance of responsibility for his family, its welfare, physical, intellectual and spiritual, was the dominant note in his home relationships.

To his aged father, past ninety years, he wrote tenderly each month. "October 31st, 1888. Dear Father: — I am wondering how it is with you. If you could have been in our home the last few weeks you would have enjoyed our beautiful weather and scenery, for the maples are now coming into the glory of their Autumn tints. If this world is so beautiful what will the palace of the King, the many mansions our Saviour is preparing for us, be? One of the first year men brought his old father here this morning. He lives five hundred miles from here and has never heard of the Truth until recently, but he seems very ready to hear. It was touching to see how eager the son is to have his father find Christ. It was a great joy to talk and pray with this old man who is so near eternity. I am glad I can do something for the fathers here, if I am too far to be of much comfort to you."

Chapter XXIV

LAST YEARS

THE new century opened with much promise for the Christian Movement in Japan. The era of reaction had reached its limit and the nation was beginning to adjust itself to the influences which had temporarily upset its equilibrium. The granting of reciprocal treaty uprights by western powers and the abolishing of extra-territorial courts had done much to allay the anti-foreign feeling, while the promulgation of a national constitution, the convening of an imperial parliament and the granting of a limited franchise to the people had all acted as steadying influences. The conviction was growing in the nation that it was essential, not only to conserve the moral and spiritual forces of Japan, but frankly to accept and use the best that the West had to offer, in every department of life.

A new faith and sense of security and hope for the future was increasing among Christian leaders, with the growing independence of the Japanese Church, and there now steadily developed within the Church not only an appreciation of its own powers, but a deepening realization of its own shortcomings and its heed of the vital forces of spiritual power. With the sources of friction and jealousy between the missionaries and their Japanese colleagues largely removed, a new period of cooperation, of mutual dependence upon one another for the accomplishment of the great task before the Church, was now entered.

The third General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan was convened in October, 1900, in Tokyo. This conference, of which Dr. Davis was elected chairman, was, for the four hundred and fifty missionaries gathered in its

sessions a recapitulation of the failures, the difficulties and achievements of the previous decade and a council of war for the new century.

The introductory remarks of the chairman in his opening address were indicative of the spirit of the gathering: — "The time and place of this Missionary Conference emphasize its importance. We meet just as the fading light of the Nineteenth Century is verging into the dawn of the Twentieth. The century just closing has witnessed the development of modern missions from their birth, to the magnificent proportions in which they appeared at the Ecumenical Council in New York, last April. We may hope that the century upon which we are soon to enter will see the 'Kingdoms of this world become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'

"We meet here in this eastern gateway of the Orient, among people who are to have a powerful influence in the civilization, and, as we may also believe, in the Christianization of eastern Asia. In every effort that we put forth for the Christianization of Japan, we should be stimulated by the thought that each wave set in motion here will move on, affecting directly or indirectly hundreds of millions of people.

"This is the third general conference held in Japan. The first was held in Yokohama, twenty-eight years ago this month. The less than twenty missionaries who attended it comprised nearly all who were then in Japan. Neither God's Word or other Christian literature existed in the Japanese language. The edicts against Christianity were posted on all the bulletin boards of the empire. Hardly a beginning had been made in evangelistic work.

"The second conference was held in Osaka, seventeen years ago. The foundation had been laid and that conference was followed by a general outpouring of God's Spirit and a period of great ingathering. We have now passed

through a period of reaction. Nationalistic and rationalistic waves have swept over the Church and chilled it. Signs are, however, everywhere apparent of renewed life and hope and zeal. We have every encouragement, as we meet in this third general conference, to ask for and to expect and to prepare to receive great things from God's hand. I trust that we all come together here with this faith and hope, and that this will be the keynote of all the meetings."

This general conference was effective in fixing attention upon the Twentieth Century Union Forward Evangelistic Movement, in which nearly all of the churches in Japan united for a sustained effort during the opening year of the new century. District committees were organized in all parts of the empire, working in cooperation with the central committee.

The activity of laymen in individual work, in distribution of tracts and in street services was a marked feature of the campaign.

On December 14th, a great thanksgiving service, at which reports of the year's work were received, was held in Tokyo. The principal addresses of the meeting were given by Rev. (later Bishop) Y. Honda and Dr. Davis, upon the subject of training enquirers. The work had been carried on in forty-two provinces, by twenty-two denominations and by five hundred and thirty-six workers, representing three hundred and seventy-six churches. Over 600,000 tracts were distributed and upwards of ten thousand yen was raised. Twenty thousand persons were enrolled as enquirers after the Truth.

Dr. Davis threw himself with great energy into this movement. As a member of the central committee of management, as a speaker for central Japan and as one of the union committee for the Kyoto district and as chairman of the committee for training enquirers, his heart and time were thus largely occupied for two years.

Prominent among the results of the Union Evangelistic Movement were the attention awakened by Christianity among all classes, the impetus given toward church union, the quickened spiritual life of the church and its recognition of responsibility for evangelizing Japan, the new conception of the size of the task before the Church, the impetus toward self-support and the new realization of the power of the united Church of Christ which such a prolonged, common effort aroused on every side.

Weaknesses, emphasized by the campaign, were the need of better methods for conserving and training enquirers; the need of more personal work and systematic Bible study; the need of a greater emphasis upon the sinful condition of men and their need of a Saviour; the need of a greater continuity of preaching, more logical presentation of truth and of pushing out into unoccupied fields.

In October, 1901, a pleasing surprise came to Dr. Davis, in the form of an invitation to preach the Communion Sermon at the District Conference of the Kumi-ai Churches held in Nagoya. For years no missionary had been asked to preach on such an occasion. "It seems strange that I, the oldest missionary in our group, who have been so much criticised and opposed by the Japanese, should be singled out to give this sermon. It shows how the tide is turning."

The rise of the Doshisha after its temporary eclipse was rapid. When President Saibara left for America, early in 1902, Hon. Kenkichi Kataoka, President of the Lower House of Parliament, was the choice of the Trustees as his successor. This remarkable Christian statesman was in every way worthy of the best traditions of the Doshisha.

While running for a parliamentary seat from his district, he was elected an elder in the little Presbyterian Church of Kochi, of which he was a member. When his political supporters, dismayed at the local prominence of his Chris-

tian office, urged him not to accept it, Mr. Kataoka stated, "I would rather be known as an elder of the Presbyterian Church of Kochi than as Chairman of the House of Commons." His position was justified, not only by his election from the Kochi District, but later by his elevation to the Presidency of the Lower House, a position which he held for ten consecutive years. At the inaugural dinner given by the Trustees to their new President, after taking the oath of office, Mr. Kataoka suddenly bowed his head, with the words, "I want to pray," and touched the heart of every man present by the depth and consecration of his prayer. He then said that he had prayed for two months that he might not have to take this position, that he did not feel worthy of it, but that he could get no peace until he had decided to take it, for he believed that it was God's will for him.

During his brief term of presidency there was a marked gain in the spirit and enrollment of the school, and before his death the following October, the Doshisha had begun to look upward. Dr. Davis attended the funeral of this Christian statesman in his home town of Kochi, in far away Shikoku, and preached his funeral sermon, and later wrote a sketch of his life which was published in both English and Japanese.

In the autumn of 1901 came the Mott meetings and a large influx of Christians, together with a new spirit in the Doshisha. The next year, Dr. Davis wrote: "It is an inspiration to see the Doshisha: the Chapel full every morning at Prayers, with monitors checking the attendance of each man. Dr. Nakaseto is Superintendent of the Sunday school and is taking a great interest in the spiritual training of the students.

"President Kataoka has his rooms adjoining the office, and eats and sleeps there so that the students and teachers come to him freely. Such a man, taking such a course, as

head of the school, lifts it right up. In the present crisis of his Constitutional Party he can hardly escape one more term in Parliament, but he hopes to retire in the near future."

In the late winter of 1904, Dr. Davis was very ill with heart difficulty. For a long time he hovered on the borderland, despaired of by his physicians, yet when conscious, himself, cool-headed and determined to live.

During the long fight for life, he told his wife that it would have been easy to give up and die, but he believed he could still be of some use in Japan. His daughter, Mrs. C. B. Olds, says: "His brain worked faster and better than that of any one else and he seemed to know exactly how to manage his case. His recovery was due, in large part, to his own determination to get well and to do everything possible to help toward that end."

On leaving Kyoto for the home land, in May, he was presented with gifts from the students and alumni of the Doshisha, together with an address of presentation:—

"Our beloved Professor Davis:—

You entered our country in the fourth year of Meiji (1871), when the nation was not yet awake from the dream of 'expulsion of the barbarians,' and when the spirit of hatred of foreigners was still rampant. This was more than thirty years ago. The changes of the fortune of the country were since quite wonderful: namely, she has passed through the Civil War of 1877, the Promulgation of the Constitution, the opening of the Parliament and the China-Japanese War, and, lastly, she is now facing in arms, Russia, the Giant of Europe.

You have breathed the air of Japan more than most of us; you have witnessed the development of Japan more than most of us; you have contributed to the civilization of Japan more than most of us. When the late Mr.

Neesima returned home with the brilliant idea of founding the Doshisha, it was you and the late Mr. Kakuma Yamamoto who understood his idea best and helped his work with the most enthusiasm and sincerity.

When by the loss of both Mr. Neesima and Mr. Yamamoto the career of the Doshisha became difficult, it was you who felt the greatest pain and realized the hardest blow. We cannot estimate how many nights you were sleepless over the cares of the school and spent the whole night in prayer to God.

Is there any man who has ever trodden the campus of the Doshisha and perceived your intense earnestness, your profound love and your immensity of sympathy, — is there any man who is not captivated by your personality?

Now that prospects of the Doshisha are becoming bright, again, we are unfortunate in having you become ill. On hearing that you are going home on furlough, it is our desire to present to you a cloisonné vase and a cut velvet, as slight tokens of our deep gratitude to you.

Kindly accept them as souvenirs of loving devotion of pupils to their master, and be assured that our prayer is for the heavenly protection on you over land and sea.

Yours very reverently."

This letter, bearing five hundred and forty-five signatures, including every member of the Kumamoto Band and others of the old Board of Trustees of the Doshisha, was a striking proof of the entire reconciliation of the pupils to their old teacher.

Three months on the upper waters of the St. Croix River, on the edge of the New Brunswick wilderness, followed by a quiet winter in Washington, D. C., restored much of Dr. Davis' vitality, and in the fall of 1905, just thirty-four years from his first departure for Japan, he returned to the Far East for his final term of service.

His last five years were a fitting culmination of his life service. They were years of comparative peace after the storms and conflicts of a generation.

Though not without misgivings, at times, over the growth within the Church of theories which he felt minimized the person and the power of his divine Lord, still the dominant note of these final years was that of profound thanksgiving for what God had wrought in the spiritual temple of the empire. He rejoiced in the steady growth of the Doshisha in enrollment, endowment and in Christian spirit. The school had gained all of the privileges previously denied by the government, the alumni had rallied to secure a large endowment fund, and active steps were being made toward incorporating the Doshisha as a full university.[1]

By 1907, with the election of Rev. T. Harada, of Kobe, to the presidency, a complete reconciliation with the old friends and trustees of the school was effected, four of their number returning to serve as Trustees of the Doshisha.

Even more remarkable to Dr. Davis was the love and esteem for their old teacher, expressed by men whom a decade before had been bitterly estranged. This seemed to him a striking tribute to the uniting power of Christ and the power of the old Doshisha spirit to hold its men. Illustrative of this are the words of Rev. Danjo Ebina, of Tokyo: "In April, 1910, I was asked to speak at Mission Meeting about the fundamental principles of mission work. When I finished my speech, Dr. Davis came and shook me by the hand, saying that what I had said was exactly what he thought and that that was the only way to bring the whole world to Christ. I shall never forget the leaping joy at that time; it can only be compared to an affectionate son's heart when he is comprehended by his dear old father."

[1] In 1912, by the addition of departments of Law and Economics, the Doshisha was raised to the rank of a full university, and stands today, with its six departments and thirteen hundred students, as the first Christian University of the Empire.

To one who had but a short generation before found central Japan without the Word of God, without a Christian church or school or a single Christian believer, the swift and triumphant progress of the Church of Christ was compelling evidence of the presence and power of the living God.

His belief in the inherent possibilities of the Japanese Church in its mission of leadership in the Far East and its missionary potentiality was shown on many occasions in his last years. At the Jubilee Convention in 1909, celebrating the completion of fifty years of Protestant Christianity in Japan, he stated that the Japanese Church was not only in a position to control and lead in its own development, but that it should now reach out actively for the evangelization of Korea and China. These same convictions were strikingly expressed in a sermon delivered before the missionaries at Karuizawa, in 1909, on "the missionary possibilities of the Japanese Church," which was considered by many to be the strongest public message he had ever given.

On November 9th, 1907, Dr. Davis again took the oath of office, as a director of the Doshisha, and was made one of the three members of the executive committee. His teaching in the school was now limited to courses in Evangelistic Theology, Missions, Revivals and kindred subjects, but the greater part of his time was devoted to general and personal ministrations, to consultations and the giving of counsel upon various subjects, for which he continued to be sought.

As the years drew on, the reality of his personal Saviour, the presence of the Holy Spirit and the power of the unseen God became more and more vivid to Dr. Davis. Christ formed, to an unusual degree, the focus of his faith, God the underlying background of his life. "I have never known anyone," says Dr. Sidney Gulick, "in whom the

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REV. TASUKU HARADA
PRESIDENT OF DOSHISHA, 1907

life of Christ formed so complete a center for his religious experience. To him, Jesus was God, rather than the man of God, to draw a rather minute distinction. In the midst of all his trials and problems he turned to Jesus with a conviction of his presence and power to help, which was very inspiring to me."

This vivid realization of a personal God was supplemented by a high loyalty to God's Word and gave him the sense of an impregnable position. He wrote in 1900: "We must each decide for ourselves what our personal duty is, in these trying times, but let us have charity for those who differ with us. There is one great consolation: God's truth will not be overthrown and the man who stands with these great fundamental truths of the Gospel, the Gulf Currents of Scripture, which have been the power of the Church in all ages, giving it its victories, that man has eternal truth and the infinite God with him. He is sure of victory."

An evangelistic tour through Korea, made in 1907, as the representative of the Kumi-ai churches, deeply impressed him with the spiritual vitality of the Korean Church. It aroused in his heart an inextinguishable hope for his beloved Japan that it might share in the blessings that were being poured upon Korea. On his return to Kyoto, he published a booklet on "The Gospel in Korea," which he sent to hundreds of Japanese workers in the hope that it would stimulate them to something of the personal work and spiritual activity of the Korean Christians. He began to pray and study, constantly, upon this problem, which now became the center of his thoughts, conversation, writing and preaching. He made an exhaustive study of the subject of revivals and their governing conditions and of the lives of great revivalists and their writings. The number of volumes in his library bearing upon this subject witness to the power of this ambition for the Church of Japan which possessed him. He said, "I believe we should look

for the Church of Christ to move forward in this century with accelerated speed, just as everything else is moving. There are many signs of this."

He published the results of this study in "Revivals, their nature and history," "Successful Evangelistic Work," "Effective Evangelism," "The Spiritual Movements of Christianity," and "The Missionary Possibilities of the Japanese Church." He delivered courses of lectures upon the subject of revivals in several of the Mission Colleges of the country. Pastors, missionaries and schools called for the distribution of his addresses, and they also appeared in missionary magazines in England and America.

In the spring of 1910, Dr. Davis was appointed a delegate by the American Board from its Japan Mission to the World's Missionary Conference in Edinburg. On the eve of his departure for Europe, in company with President Harada of the Doshisha, he had a long interview with the Premier Marquis Katsura, in which that statesman expressed his satisfaction at the growth and moral influence of the Doshisha, and his appreciation of its value as a source of culture for Japan. He also expressed his confidence in the friendship of the United States and the need of fundamental sympathy and understanding between the two nations. "It was an inspiration to see such a man at the helm in Japan and to listen to his earnest, honest, heartfelt words of sympathy with the United States and desire for peace with all nations. He authorized us to use his words freely, as we go to England and America."

At the Edinburg Conference, Dr. Davis made a short address upon the "Dependence on Prayer and the Holy Spirit in Mission Work." The long overland journey through Siberia and Europe, the exhilaration of the vast Christian gathering and the homeward Atlantic voyage, made heavy drafts upon his failing strength, and he was

glad of the quiet rest that the summer at Lake Webb, in Maine, afforded.

Here the growing heart difficulty, manifest by extreme distress in breathing and loss of sleep, became acute. In early September, he sought the help of Boston specialists, who gave temporary relief, but it was plain to his friends that working days were nearly over. Against the judgment of his physicians, Dr. Davis attended two sessions of the Centenary Celebration of the American Board in Boston, in early October, in each of which he spoke with something of his old-time vigor. He expressed his optimism over the outlook in Japan and his conviction of the urgency of the hour for a vigorous advance if Japan were to be won for Christ, and, finally, a strong hope that he might be able to return to his post.

But the old warrior had sounded his last charge. Soon after the American Board meeting, Dr. and Mrs. Davis travelled to Oberlin, O., expecting to enjoy a visit with relatives, Dr. and Mrs. E. I. Bosworth. Dr. Davis reached Oberlin on the 26th of October, in a state of collapse, strong opiates bringing the only rest and freedom from suffering. Toward the end, in one of his moments of consciousness, when told that his life was nearing its close, he seemed shocked, for he had steadily believed in his ability to throw off the illness as he had previously done. "I did not expect to be the first to go. I would like to have stayed a little longer for the sake of my family, but it is all right." When asked if he had a message for his children and friends in Japan, he replied, "I have no other message than my life; my life is my message to my children." A little later, he said: "The Fourteenth Chapter of John is my comfort now. . . . The hope that I have for my family and for myself is worth more than the whole world."

"We were all gathered around the bed that morning,

and the doctor (a classmate of his oldest daughter) sat beside him, so tender and kind, I could not but think, 'he is taking Clara's place.' Once while suffering with a breathless spell, Genevieve suggested singing, and she and Burnell sang together, 'Jesus, lover of my soul,' while his lips moved and I believe he was trying to join. It was a beautiful and blessed scene. When the singing was ended he said, 'The Lord bless you all for all your goodness to me,' and then fell asleep. Toward noon he waked and said, laughingly, 'I thought I was passing away, but now I feel as bright as a button.' In the evening, Cousin Edward Bosworth came in and, standing at the foot of the bed, made a beautiful prayer. A moment later, the Doctor said, 'It is better in Heaven,' for he was gone. He went so gently that I could not believe that he had left us."

At the simple funeral service, preceding the interment in the Oberlin Cemetery, Dr. Bosworth paid the following beautiful tribute: "These many miles of travel have made, as it has turned out, a kind of triumphal journey. There was a dramatic fitness in his presence at the great Edinburg Conference, making report to that memorable assemblage of almost forty years of service in Japan, and it was fit that he should give a final report to the American Board which he had served so long and well. After these forty years he has crossed his Jordan. . . . He had a good soldier's readiness for surprises and suddenness of attack. . . . Death confronted him suddenly. He had not known until a day or two before the end that he could not live. He adjusted himself instantly to the situation. Like a good strategist, he had selected an impregnable height as his life's view-point, and when Death suddenly appeared on the field, Death was already conquered. To him Death was a mere incident in eternal life. . . .

"It is not so much the things that he did, the honors he received, the positions that he held, that constitute the

great features of his life. The spirit that he developed was greater than all else. The man, himself, was greater than anything that happened to him. That which we shall always reverence in the thought of him is the way in which he met the elemental facts of life, — duty to others, —his God and fellowmen and eternity. He and his family in these last days have taken immortality as a matter of course. Our household can never fail to be grateful for the lasting blessing that has come to us, in this opportunity of seeing those who were engaged in the daily practice of immortality face death with fearless composure.

"His great soldier-spirit has gone out into eternity, ready for great conquests there. He must have read the opening verses of the Fourteenth of John, his favorite chapter, with a soldier's sense of following a great Captain into the unseen, 'I go to prepare a place for you.' His spirit, loyal and fearless, has already adjusted itself to new conditions and is already at work upon some high enterprise. We bid him, 'Godspeed' and 'farewell,' for a little while."

"Then from the dawn it seemed there came, but faint,
As far removed beyond the limit of the world,
Like the last echo, born of a great cry,
Sounds, as of some fair city with one voice,
Around a King returning from his wars."

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